

Prof. V. Jagannadham

SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

Essays in Honour of Professor V. Jagannadham

Editors

T.N. CHATURVEDI
SHANTA KOHLI CHANDRA



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INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD, NEW DELHI-110 002

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Preface

SOCIAL administration as a discipline known to us at present owes its origin to the British and the systematic study of this area is comparatively new. It makes use of knowledge derived from other fields such as philosophy, history, economics, politics, psychology, sociology, demography and many other social sciences. These disciplines provide an essential frame of reference and additional knowledge to this comparatively new field and, therefore, it is not easy to define this discipline exactly. Depending on academic proclivities and policy approaches we also use such phrases as social development, social welfare, social services study, etc. It is not necessary to go into the semantics of phrases as both the locus and focus of the discipline of social administration can be broadly identified. In any case the frontiers of discipline dealing with human affairs and social problems are by their very nature dynamic. Social problems and society's response to these social problems can be said to be its main interests. Social surveys carried out at the end of the nineteenth century, especially in England, helped in revealing the existence of poverty amidst plenty and provided the incentive for a systematic study of social life and to know the nature of social problems. In the present century, the need for action by the state to deal with the problems of poverty and disease was emphasised and ways and methods sought were to solve the riddle of poverty amidst plenty. The works of Booth and Rowntree were fundamental to the development of this discipline. Both were practical businessmen and their revealing social surveys provided essential data. With the growth of social services, social science discipline acquired an independent identity. The remarkable extensions in the role and functions of the State in relation to individual and social problems further extended the field and perhaps tended to make the discipline somewhat complicated, though more comprehensive and scientific.

Social problems affect the individual and also the society in which he lives. They arise from individual needs that are common to all members of society. These needs are primarily met by personal and family action but

when they are not so met they raise social problems and society as a whole tries to tackle them. At a particular time certain facets of individual behaviour become social problems, though they may be primarily concerned with individuals. There is no one theory which can explain adequately the change in perception which converts individual behaviour into social problems. In other words, it is not easy to define social problems once for all. This makes the task of defining social administration difficult. According to Professor Titmus, this discipline may be broadly defined as the study of social services for the improvement of the conditions of life of the individual in the setting of family and group relations. To him the historical development of these services, both statutory and voluntary, the moral values implicit in social action, the roles and functions of the services, the economic aspects and the part they play in meeting certain needs in the social process—all are important and need to be explored in social service administration.

There are other views too and no consensus is possible on the varied aspects. But there would be a more definite and positive reply if it is looked at as a problem centred discipline. The study of social services is important but it cannot possibly be studied in a vacuum. Its relationship to development and change is important. It has to be studied in the context of the overall political, economic and social structure of society. One must try to understand the way in which society works, the factors which influence the availability of resources and the beliefs and traditions which shape society's response to social problems. It is also a question of the socio-psychological transformation of society. It also implies the need to have a scientific view of institution-building to achieve the goals and effect social policies and programmes. In a democratic society one can reasonably expect increasing social awareness and even assertiveness on the part of the common people if they feel that the social gains are not going to the people for whom they are intended. Development which aims to solve the tensions of a stagnant economy and an emerging society can be the source of fresh tensions. Social planning has thus to be perceived as a necessary counterpart of economic planning. It requires more long range thinking of policies and problems as they arise in a particular social set-up.

Social services are an integral part of society. Society is changing all the time and so the nature of these services. It is, therefore, essential that this changing phenomenon is seen fresh in the relevant context. The techniques introduced in the management field could be applied to this area of knowledge too. The needs have to be met in a way that limited resources bring maximum benefit. The economic calculus of cost and benefit acquires social implications. The question of maximisation of resources and the nature of beneficiaries becomes very important. Social

administration is an area where the possibilities of the application of new managerial techniques and behavioural insights are being increasingly explored. Social administration can be taken as an approach to solve social problems and as an approach it throws a challenge for all those who are dedicated to the field. People from different disciplines like to tackle the subject in their own way and add to the knowledge of this discipline. From the theories and findings already established in their respective fields they try to add new vistas to social administration as a new discipline.

All subjects, these days, are essentially inter-disciplinary because of the very nature of society and man and therefore are 'hybrid' disciplines. The newer the discipline, greater would be its mixed origin. Social administration as a new discipline shares this character. It adds vitality and realism to an evolving discipline.

Literature in this country on the subject of social administration is scarce because social administration as a branch of public administration is comparatively new and requires to be explored more and more. It was felt that it would be a worthwhile effort if a volume dealing with different facets of social administration is prepared of use to scholars as well as workers in the field and the policy makers. With the publication of this volume, the Indian Institute of Public Administration pays tribute to Professor V. Jagannadham who as Professor of Social Policy and Administration did a good deal of pioneering work.

We also hope this volume will give an opportunity to the academicians and practitioners to take up the challenge and further exploring the various facets of the discipline so as to sustain and accelerate development in the fast changing social milieu.

We are deeply grateful to the distinguished contributors who very kindly responded to our request. In a venture of this kind one can reasonably expect certain amount of variation in emphasis, contents, coverage and even in approach. This also adds to the intellectual freshness to the treatment of the subject. While no claims are made that the volume is comprehensive in all its aspects, we do believe that it provides an easy and informal coverage of the important aspects of social administration and planning as well as areas directly concerned. Social administration is an area where increasingly an activist state and vigilant voluntary action must seek an equilibrium for social good. We look upon this effort as a contribution to the debate and dialogue on a theme of vital social significance.

We are also thankful to a large number of our colleagues at the IIPA who have in different ways have helped us in the preparation of the volume. Special mention may be made of Shri N. R. Gopalakrishnan, Assistant Editor, IIPA, and his colleagues in the Publication Section who, with considerable diligence, processed this volume in the press;

and of Shri M.P. Nayar, Assistant Librarian who prepared the bibliography.

We trust that the purpose which prompted us at the IIPA to prepare this volume and the nature of our effort will be well received.

T.N. CHATURVEDI
SHANTA KOHLI CHANDRA

Contributors

ANAND, T.R., National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi.

BARNABAS, A.P., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

BHAKTA, S.K., Indian Institute of Cultural and Urban Anthropology, Ahmedabad.

CHANDRA, SHANTA KOHLI, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

CHAWLA, K.L., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

DESHMUKH, DURGABAI, 'Rachna', Vidhya Nagar, Adikametta, Hyderabad.

GANGRADE, K.D., Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

GOPALAN, SARALA, Central Social Welfare Board, New Delhi.

GUPTA, ANIL K., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

GUPTA, C.P., Vocational Rehabilitation Centre for Physically Handicapped, New Delhi.

GUPTA, J.P., National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi.

GUPTA, R.S., National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi.

HALDIPUR, KRISHNA R., Raj Niwas, Itanagar.

HANDA, K.L., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

- HARAGOPAL, G., Kakatiya University, Warangal.
- IYENGAR, N.K.N., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- KABRA, KAMAL NAYAN, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- KANTI SWARUP, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- KAPUR, S.D., National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi.
- MISRA, G.K., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- MURDIA, RATNA, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.
- MURALI MANOHAR, K., Kakatiya University, Warangal.
- MURTHY, M.V.N., National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi.
- NARAIN, M.K., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- PURI, R.B., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- RAGHAVULU, C.V., Andhra University, Visakhapatnam.
- RAMACHANDRAN, G., Ministry of Labour, New Delhi.
- RAMAIAH, P., Kakatiya University, Warangal.
- RAO, S. VENUGOPAL, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- SAHAY, B.N., Planning Commission, New Delhi.
- SARMA, K.S.R.N., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.
- SEN, ANIMA, University of Delhi, Delhi.
- SHUKLA, K.S., Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, New Delhi.
- SIKKA, K.D., Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.
- SINGH, BHUPINDER, Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Tribal Development, New Delhi.

TIWARI, R.K., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

TRAKROO, P.L., National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi.

TRIVEDI, HARSHAD R., Institute of Cultural and Urban Anthropology, Ahmedabad.

VEERARAGHAVAN, V., Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi.

VEPA, RAM K., Nirmal Bhavan, New Delhi.

VERMA, B.M., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

VERMA, S.P., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

VIDYARTHI, L.P., Ranchi University, Ranchi.

WISHWAKARMA, R.K., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.



Professor V. Jagannadham *—A Profile*

BORN on November 29, 1918 Professor V. Jagannadham had his early education in Rajahmundry, Andhra Pradesh. He graduated from Madras University in 1941. He continued his studies in Madras University and took his M.Litt. (Social Legislation in India) in 1944. Between 1945-57 he was with the Andhra University, Waltair, as a Lecturer. He took his LL.D (Social Insurance in India) from the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. He came to the Indian Institute of Public Administration, as a Chief Research Officer in 1957. From 1958 to 1962 he held the position of Assistant Professor and from 1962 to 1978 of Professor. From 1974 to September 1975 he was the Director of the Institute.

He has been associated with the University Grants Commission and the Planning Commission and as a member in the working groups on social welfare; his contributions were significant and helped the growth of the discipline of Social Administration. His association with the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India has been of immense significance in the development of social welfare. He has been engaged in Social Work Education Planning and Policy studies besides teaching and research in the Institute. He has been guiding Ph.D. students for many years and the credit to produce first doctorate in social work goes to him. Now after retirement (1978) he has settled in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was the first Institute to introduce courses in Social Policy and Administration in the year 1967. The in-service training on Social Welfare Administration was also introduced in the same year under the Executive Development Programmes of the Institute. The credit for introducing these two groups of courses goes to Professor Jagannadham who by the introduction of these courses added to the growth and development of this special area and inspired many of his students to take up studies in this much neglected area of study.

As one of the pioneers of Social Administration who has contributed a lot for its expansion Professor Jagannadham is a much sought after

resource person both in national and international seminars and conferences. His membership to a large number of professional bodies and his immense devotion in the field has made his approach to the subject to be multifaceted. He has a large number of books and articles which make the area of Social Administration rich. It is appropriate for the Institute to bring out a selection of essays on "Social Administration: Development and Change" in honour of one who has devoted his life for the growth and development of the subject. He is member of a large number of professional bodies and is on the Editorial Advisory Boards of a couple of journals dealing with Social policy and Social Administration. It is almost three decades now that he has been trying his best to develop this area of Social Administration. The discipline is indebted to Professor Jagannadham for efforts made by him.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PROFESSOR V. JAGANNADHAM

Books

1. 1954 : Social Insurance in India, D. Jambatan, Amsterdam.
2. 1958 : The Pattern of Rural Government, Report of a Seminar, IIPA, New Delhi.
3. 1960 : Training for Social Welfare Work—Courses and Institutions, Co-author S.P. Nandwani, IIPA, New Delhi (Mimeographed).
4. 1960 : Public Administration Problems of New and Rapidly Growing Cities, U.N. Seminar, 1962 ST/TAO/MI18.
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8. 1968 : Citizen Administration and Lokpal—S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, Co-author H.R. Makhija.
9. 1971 : Citizen and the Municipal Bureaucracy, IIPA, New Delhi, Co-author N.S. Bakshi.
10. 1971 : Property Tax Administration, IIPA, New Delhi, Co-author N.S. Bakshi.
11. 1973 : Family Planning in India—Policy and Administration (Ed.), IIPA, New Delhi.
12. 1977 : Integrated Delivery System for Social Services, IIPA, New Delhi, Co-author M. Bhattacharya.

13. 1977 : Problems of Pensioners—A Socio-Economic Policy and Administration in India, Lalita Prakashan, New Delhi, Co-author C.M. Palvia.
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6. 1961 : Social Policy in Welfare State—Administrative Aspects, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, No. 1.
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17. 1969 : Training and Training Techniques, *Seminar on Training of Trainers*, National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.
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22. 1972 : Changing Patterns in Social Welfare Administration since Independence, Jubilee Number of the *Indian Conference of Social Welfare*.
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1. 1960 : "Social and Cultural Adaptation of the Population in India", in *The Tasks of Local Authorities in Development Areas*. International Union of Local Authorities, The Hague.
2. 1964 : "Labour Policy and Administration", in V.P. Singh (ed.), *Industrial Labour in India*. The Asia Publishing House, Bombay.
3. 1965 : "Elements of Social Welfare Administration", in Avasthi and S.N. Verma (ed.), *Aspects of Administration*. Allied Publishers, Delhi.
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7. 1968 : "Social Administration", in *Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India*, Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi.
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9. 1964 : "Research in Public Administration", *Seminar on Methodology of Social Science Research*, Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi.
10. 1966 : "Social Security and Social Development in India and South-East Asia", in *A Seminar on India and South East Asia*, Indian Council of Cultural Relations, New Delhi.
11. 1968 : "Democracy and Non-Violence", in Krishna Kumar (ed.), *Democracy and Non-Violence: A Study of Their Relation*, Gandhi Peace Foundation.
12. 1968 : "Recruitment and Working Conditions of Welfare Personnel", in *Progress through Man-Power*, International Council on Social Welfare, Bombay.

13. 1969 : "Perspectives for Panchayati Raj", in M.V. Mathur, and Iqbal Narain (ed.), *Panchayati Raj Planning and Democracy*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.
14. 1972 : "Political Significance of Social Welfare", in *Social Policy in Conditions of Rapid Change—Role of Social Welfare*, ICSW, Bombay.
15. 1973 : "Teaching and Research in Social Administration" in S.R. Maheshwari (ed.), *Study of Public Administration in India*
16. 1974 : "Citizen-Administration Relationships in Development," in V.A. Paipanandikar (ed.), *Development Administration in India*, Macmillan.
17. 1974 : "Population Growth and Education Policy", in Anthony D' Souza and Alfred De Souza (ed.), *Population Growth and Human Development*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.
18. 1975 : "Social Administration 1947-1973" in R.K. Arora (ed.), *Administrative Change in Independent India*, Alakh Publishers, Jaipur.
19. 1977 : "Approaches to Further Development," in S.K. Sharma (ed.), *Dynamics of Development*, Concept, Delhi.
20. 1977 : "An Approach to the Problem of Unemployment", in Dr. L.M. Singhvi (ed.), *Unemployment Problem in India*, National Publishing House, New Delhi.
21. 1977 : "Environmental Policy for Urban Areas: Some Issues in Environmental Policy", in *Environmental Pollution and Urban Administration*, IIPA.

Conferences Attended and Visits to International Institutions

1. 1953 : NUFFIC, Conference on Problems of Asian Integration, The Hague.
2. 1953 : International Congress of Sociology, Leige, Belgium.
3. 1962 : Public Administration—Problem of New and Rapidly Growing Towns in Asia, held by the U.N.O. in New Delhi.
4. 1964 : Seminar on Social Administration in Developing Countries, India International Centre, New Delhi.
5. 1965 : Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.
6. 1965-66-67 : Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.
7. 1965 : I.S.S.A. Second Regional Conference for Asia and Oceania, Government of India, New Delhi.

8. 1966 : UNICEF. Conference on Child and Youth Development (invited as an expert.)
9. 1966 : Invited by the Asian Institute of Economic Development and Planning, Bangkok, to deliver a course on Lectures on Development Administration for their special training course.
10. 1967 : Invited as a Resource Person by the Asian Institute of Economic Development and Planning, Bangkok, for a follow up meeting of the UNICEF conference on Child and Youth Development in Bangkok.
11. 1967 : Invited by the ECAFE as a Resource Person for the Seminar on Methods of Inducing Social Change for Overall Development in Bangkok.
12. 1967 : Invited by the International Council on Social Welfare for the Seminar on Meeting the Social Welfare Man-Power Needs in South-East Asia and Western Pacific, Tokyo.
13. 1968 : Invited by the International Centre of Research and Information on Public and Cooperative Economy for its 8th Annual Conference at Leige, Belgium.
14. 1968 : Invited by the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, to give Seminar on Society and Bureaucracy with special reference to Social Planning and Social Development and the Role of Bureaucracy as Change Agent.
15. 1968 : Invited by the School of Social Administration at Swansea in U.K. to give three seminars on Social Policy, Social Planning and the Personnel Problems.
16. 1968 : Onwards took part in several conferences but no account is given.

Membership of Professional Bodies

1. Member of the Social Welfare Working Group, Planning Commission.
2. Member of the Committee on Social Work, Education and Training, University Grants Commission.
3. Member of the Task Force on Educational Administration, Indian Education Commission.
4. Member of the Standing Committee on Research and Evaluation of the National Institute of Community Development.
5. Member, Editorial Board of the Indian Encyclopaedia of Social Work.
6. Member of the Standing Committee of the Council for Social Development.
7. Member of the Panel on Social Welfare, Planning Commission.

8. Member of the Evaluation Committee on Family and Child Welfare, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India.
9. Member of the Organising Committee on Population Policy and Programme.
10. Member, Executive Committee, Indian Society for Training and Development (Delhi Chapter).
11. Member, Centre for the Study of Law and Society, New Delhi.
12. Member, Society for International Development (Indian Branch).
13. Indian Institute of Public Administration.
14. Indian Sociological Association.
15. Delhi Sociological Association.
16. India International Centre.
17. Andhra Education Society.
18. Member of the Editorial Board of Journal of Social Policy, U.K.
19. Member, Advisory Committee on Social Welfare Research, Department of Statistics, Planning Commission.
20. Served as a Member of the Committee on Social Work Education in India appointed by the University Grants Commission, New Delhi.
21. Member, Development and Change, published from the Netherlands.

Social Policy, Legislation and Enforcement

S. Venugopal Rao

INDIA's social policy is succinctly stated in Article 38 of the Constitution: "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice—social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life." Read in conjunction with the Preamble to the Constitution and elaborated by the Directive Principles of State Policy and the chapter on Fundamental Rights, it constitutes a basic policy statement on social restructuring.

For many years, Prof. Jagannadham has been advocating a social policy resolution at the national level to highlight the major issues and stimulate action. A series of efforts were made under the auspices of the Council for Social Development and a draft policy resolution was prepared for introducing it in the Parliament, but the need for it is still debated.

Prof. Jagannadham's impassioned plea for a Social Policy Resolution on the lines of the Industrial and Scientific Policy Resolutions reflects his deep concern over the fitful and unconvincing implementation of the policy. His disagreement with those who argue that the Constitution [has enunciated the policy in unambiguous terms and hence there is no need for further elaboration stems from his conceptual analysis that there is a clear distinction between ideology and policy because "social transformation becomes possible only when people understand its significance and apply the ideas in their daily relationships". There is also much substance in his contention that "social policy does not imply a statement of verities that hold true for all times but it is a moving mosaic of values and services that suit the changing conditions of living".¹

One of the important facets of social policy is the inter-relationship

¹V. Jagannadham, "Social Policy: Review and Resolution". Paper distributed for Fourth Course on *Social Policy and Administration*, IIPA 1978.

between policy, legislation and enforcement. Prof. Jagannadham makes a very strong case for incorporating in the social policy statement a review, a plan and a programme of action. He voices the feelings of many who see in the Constitutional provisions no more than 'pious hopes' with little prospect of realisation and says with characteristic candour: "A feeling prevails that enforcement of social welfare legislation is not commensurate with commitment and vigour with the requirements of policy. Anaemia in administration undermines the respect for law and consequently frustrates policy. How to bring about a proper enforcement of law, not necessarily through coercion, but through communication, education and provision of appropriate service and thereby make policy a dynamic instrument of social change".² In this paper, I propose to examine the role and limits of law and its enforcement in the implementation of social policy.

Since social policy implies restructuring and reordering a conflict-ridden plural society, implementation is bound to meet with a number of difficulties among which are resistance to change in a traditional society, opposition from vested interests, lack of financial resources, inadequacy of personnel and goal distortions which emerge in the process of change. Change does not occur merely through articulation. It has to be engineered in a climate in which it can be accepted without conflict. Law is only one facet of that endeavour. In an overview of implementation of social policy, one cannot fail to notice that although three decades have passed since it was enunciated, we can claim success neither in creating the climate for change which could obviate the need for coercion nor in achieving the policy goals to a reasonable extent at least through the coercive power of law. In the face of this dismal performance, it becomes all the more necessary to review the policy, identify the areas of failure and revise our strategies.

Our social policy visualises dramatic changes in the social structure through democratic means. Democracy does not deny the need for authority or efficient enforcement of laws, but this is subject to the condition that the laws are, by and large, acceptable to the people and the citizens have respect for the laws which their elected representatives make. Hence the contemporary emphasis on the need for maximum involvement of the people themselves in the control of antisocial behaviour. Law enforcement without public support has no rationale in a democracy. The restructuring of society through democratic means, therefore, emerges as the most challenging problem in contemporary India in which law has to be carefully transformed and utilised as an instrument of change.

Our social policy projects the equality of all citizens; yet, by tradition

²V. Jagannadham, "Social Policy and National Development". Paper distributed for Eighth Course on *Social Policy and Administration*, IIPA, 1979.

and historical entrapment, society has not moved forward towards the preferred goal of social justice. Despite extensive legislation, most of the major social evils and economic ills persist because society is not prepared for change. If we have to wait till the present social values, warped by caste and class, undergo a change without the external pressure of law, we may have to wait for a millennium or a blood-letting revolution. A properly legislated and appropriately enforced law can prevent this dismal prospect for societies which make the conscious choice of a democratic way of life. In the face of crystallised opposition of vested interests and the deadly grip of tradition, success may be halting in the initial stages and our efforts may even produce a counter reaction in violence as it happened in regard to the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act. One can discuss endlessly the extent to which untouchability has been removed from the minds of men, although on paper it does not exist. The insignificant number of cases registered and prosecuted by the police can be put forward in support of success and failure alike. On the other hand, the atrocities on weaker sections and the rising tide of caste violence in rural areas suggest that while the legislation satisfied our political conscience and articulated our intentions, it has also aggravated tensions. In some areas of socio-economic change, the desired results may not be readily forthcoming because of ambivalence in the legislation. For example, in regard to the legislation pertaining to land reform or ceilings on urban property, there may not be blatant transgressions, but ingenious circumventions with the help of power groups.

When the social policy was announced, it was expected that it would be backed by appropriate legislation, and enforced. True, all areas in which changes are contemplated do not need the coercive power of law. There are areas where education and incentives may be more effective than penal disincentives. There are areas where enforcement need not be rigid, but could act merely as a psychological deterrent—a cautionary signal to be heeded by a conditioned society. Where the contemplated changes threaten the interests and privileges of powerful groups and sections of society, violent resistance has to be anticipated, and law has to be effective and adequately punitive. Thus, there can be no precise or predetermined approach towards legislation or its enforcement. It is, however, desirable to bear in mind that while using criminal law as an instrument of change, it should not be so oppressively coercive that it becomes counter-productive.

Law, by itself, cannot bring about change smoothly. But it can provide the level for expedition; and more significantly it can help in the creation of the climate for change.

It is in this context that I propose to discuss the controversy regarding the enforcement of 'social legislation'. The debate is confined to the police, but the use of the term itself is intriguing. What is 'social' legislation?

Are not all crimes considered 'antisocial'? Is not the bulk of legislation including the time-honoured provisions of the Indian Penal Code 'social' in character? Are not most of our laws intended to protect society against aggression, violence, exploitation, insecurity and nuisance by people whose values are contrary to those of the majority? As society undergoes rapid changes, the antisocial segments are enlarged through new compulsions, opportunities and laws. When the State embarks on extensive social reconstruction and thus attempts to upset the prevailing order, the police which represent the coercive power of the State cannot disown their prescribed role. To do so on the ground that the law violations are not traditional but 'social' is no more than semantic quibbling.

The police opposition to enforcement of 'social legislation' stems from the following grounds:

- (i) the police are hardpressed with their traditional functions of maintenance of order and prevention and detection of crime;
- (ii) the existing police system, with its inherent organisational deficiencies does not possess the requisite skills and sensitivity;
- (iii) the police, whose image is none too good, may become more unpopular; and
- (iv) the enforcement of legislation affecting the vested interests of the affluent and powerful groups will tend to increase the corruptibility of the police.

By the time this paper is published, the National Police Commission would have completed its labours and we may have some idea of the future directions of law enforcement policies. But even a cursory examination of the above grounds discloses how tenuous they are because they merely expose the organisational ills of the police whose capacity to meet the new and emerging challenges is questioned. They demonstrate that while enunciating the social policy we have not taken sufficient care to create the necessary institutions for implementation or to revitalise the existing institutions for the complex tasks of law enforcement in a changing society. To this extent, the debate itself reflects the failure of the social policy.

It may be conceded that in a few areas a very high degree of specialisation and technical capabilities are needed and enforcement tasks can be performed more successfully by specialist agencies. But in major areas of social relationships which have a potential for conflict, there can be no two opinions regarding the need for involving the police. The point has been well made by Arul: "The police is the only enforcement agency which has the largest geographical coverage which cannot be matched by any official or private service organization....The police stand in the midst of life. This gives them the unique opportunity of observing life at first hand and of intervening at the earliest point of time in the interest of weaker sections

of society because the police are the best organized, trained, disciplined and mobile force with an unmatched communication system".³ If the above hopes have been belied occasionally, the solution does not lie in abnegation of responsibility. Statesmanship and wisdom demand the need for identifying the causes of failure and making the organisation competent and sensitive enough for its role.

To say this is not to deny the genuine difficulties which confront the police in enforcing social legislation wherein their activity is severely limited and at times even relegated to a secondary position. Some of the difficulties arise from the flaws and 'loopholes' in legislation or when the scope for follow-up action is not available. Some examples can be cited to highlight the limits of police endeavour in legislation intended to protect certain sections against exploitation:

- (i) The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act was once described by a Supreme Court Judge as 'teethless' but, how much 'teeth' should be endowed to a legislation which endeavours to control a type of antisocial behaviour which thrives on consensual demand? While the offences under the Act are cognizable, the power of arrest and enforcement is restricted to special police officers of a certain rank. In consequence of such restriction, there is much uninformed public criticism of police inaction.
- (ii) The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act of 1976 was intended to eliminate the age-old system of contractual labour through advance payments and loans. In a paper presented at the recent Police Science Congress, S.K. Jha made a very strong plea for greater involvement of the police and said: "The Police ought to have been given some discretionary power under Sections 7 (property of bonded labour to be freed of mortgage) and Section 8 (protection against eviction from homestead). Similarly, Section 12 keeps the police out of the picture although it can greatly help the efforts of the District Magistrate and other government agencies in finding out if bonded labour or forced labour *in any form* is being practised. Sections 13 and 14 deal with the composition and functions of the Vigilance Committees. One of its functions is to survey whether there is any offence on which cognizance ought to be taken under the Act. Who can be suited better than the police for these functions, but the police is not represented on these vigilance committees at the District or the sub-divisional level".⁴ The questions are pertinent but they also raise an important issue as to how far should the enforcement be rigidly carried out considering that

³F.V. Arul, "Police in the Enforcement of Social Legislation", *Indian Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 7, July 1979.

⁴S.K. Jha, "Social Legislation and Police", *Police Science Congress*, 1980.

there are various types of informal relationships between the farmers and labourers all of which may not be exploitative and which may not be desirable to disturb.

- (iii) In a bid to take proper care of delinquent and destitute children, many States have enacted children's Acts, but due to either administrative inertia or lack of resources the rules of procedures were not formulated and institutional facilities (which form an essential feature of the legislation) were not provided. The result is that legislation remains merely a gesture of our goodwill and subscription to the social policy. The police are actively associated with enforcement of the legislation because they constitute the first official agency with which the erring or destitute child often comes into contact, but they can do little in fulfilling the welfare and rehabilitative objectives of the legislation in the absence of institutional facilities.

The foregoing examples which are typical of our 'social' legislation highlight the gap between policy and implementation. The severe limits imposed on the police in enforcement may be due to inadvertent creation of a hasty legislation and not rationally designed in relation to the primary objectives and goals. Finally, as our experience reveals, serious distortions and internal conflicts may also emerge in the process of implementation.

Whenever long-range objectives are of a general nature as implied in our social policy, there is an inclination on the part of the political leadership as well as the public to relegate the task of securing them to the enforcement agencies and ascribe the failures to the latter's lack of zeal and capability without appreciating the limits of enforcement in a given setting and without recognising that in any social situation, there are conflicting values which have to be carefully balanced. It is not enough to have a social policy and legislation. It is equally important to know the impact of legislation and define the limits of enforcement without which there can be no continuing programme of action.

A Social Policy Resolution in the form of reiteration of our social objectives is useful only to a limited extent that it can clarify and elaborate the social changes contemplated in the Constitution. On the other hand, there is need for a review of the extent and nature of implementation of social legislation during the last three decades, identification of areas of failure and preparation of specific programmes of action and determination of priorities based on evaluative studies in the relevant fields. Prof. Jagannadham's contribution lies in highlighting the disconcerting fact that there has been no conscious effort in this direction. □

*Social Policy for Rural Development**

B.N. Sahay

SOCIAL POLICY

POLICY is a projected programme of goal values and practices the process of which includes formulation, promulgation, and application of identifications, demands, and expectations.¹ The social policy of a country involves drawing up of plan for future action in regard to social institutions and resources. A social plan for a nation is designed to meet the needs of its society. Thus, it is the policy of a "government with regard to action having a direct impact on the welfare of the citizens, by providing them with services or income."² As regards Indian Social Policy, it is the culmination of the evolution of tradition, cultural values, and political development.

The conditions which existed at the time of independence were considered to be signs of an economically under-developed and a socially stagnant society which were impediments to economic development and social advancement: widespread poverty with very low levels of per capita income; an illiteracy rate of 84 per cent; low agricultural production; an overwhelming rural population (83 per cent) spread over 0.55 million villages isolated geographically and culturally; a rigidly stratified social structure with hundreds of castes and with 55 million persons in the so-called scheduled castes and tribes, speaking many and varied languages; meagre transportation and inadequate communication systems; an administrative structure oriented to police, tax collection, and regulatory func-

*A background paper to draft agenda item, "Social Policies for Rural Development" — Commonwealth Ministerial Meeting, Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, London, 1975. The author is grateful to Shri R.K. Dar, Chief (PEO), Planning Commission New Delhi, for valuable suggestions and Shri A.M. Kurup, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, for going through the manuscript.

¹J. Gould, and W.L. Kolb, *A Dictionary of Social Sciences* (ed.), Macmillan Co., U.S.A., 1965, p. 509.

tion; and above all leadership attuned to organisation of activities designed to frustrate alien rule.

The Indian Constitution

India became an Independent Dominion of the Commonwealth on August 15, 1947 and a republic on January 26, 1950 giving herself a written constitution with a parliamentary democracy and fundamental rights for her citizens and the rule of law. The Constitution ensured to secure to all its citizens—*Justice*, social, economic, and political; *Liberty* of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; *Equality* of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all *Fraternity* assuring the dignity of the individual. From the socio-economic point of view, the most important part of the Constitution is its Part IV on the *Directive Principles of State Policy* which spelt out some of the salient features of the new society that the fathers of the Constitution wanted to see established in the country. Articles 38 to 51 give specific formulation of these principles and can be regarded as the Magna Carta of the new social and economic order that has been accepted as the national objective. In any evaluation that is made of social and economic change in India, the touchstone and the criteria for judgment has to be this Magna Carta. Democratic socialism has already been accepted as the goal of Indian planning.³

The Indian Constitution sets the tone for encouraging the elimination of the most prevalent injustices and inequalities. It also made a number of provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens and in particular the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.* Other guiding principles were related to the encouragement to be given to the villagers to organise their own units of self-government for which they were to be endowed with the requisite power and authority. It was made a matter of state policy to strive to secure for all workers, agricultural or otherwise, a living wage and conditions of work which would ensure a decent standard of living, full enjoyment of leisure, and social and cultural opportunities. Also included in the Constitution were provisions calling for free and compulsory education for all children, promotion of the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and the raising of the level of nutrition and public health. Of special interest were provisions for the organisation of agriculture and animal husbandry along the modern scientific lines and for the organisation of social welfare activities. Thus, the Constitution expressed comprehensively the basic philosophy of a free and democratic society seeking to achieve rapid and continuous economic progress with the largest possible measure of social justice.

³V.K.R.V. Rao, "Our Economy Since Independence", *Yojana*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 26 January, 1975.

*Castes and Tribes appended to the Constitution of providing special assistance

Rural Development Policy

Rural development policy of India has grown out of the provisions contained in the Constitution. "Removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance are the two strategic goals that the country has set for itself."⁴ The successive five year plans derive their basic inspiration from the above twin objectives.

Indians live predominantly in villages amidst numerous problems and, therefore, right from the First Five Year Plan emphasis was laid on rural (including tribal) development with widespread public participation in the development planning. It was realised that "planning in a democratic state is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should participate. The crucial factor in organising the community for action is leadership, and in a democracy not merely leadership at the top but at all levels." The 'stagnant villages' could become dynamic through aided self-help programmes and leaders would emerge at village levels, as well as at all other levels of society, if permitted and helped to do so. Thus, the plan was an attempt to strike a balance between the stern realisation of prevailing conditions and models for the type of society which India desired to evolve. In this sense, the plan aimed at planned social change as there was a sociological rationale behind it. It clearly brought out that "the economic condition of a country at any given time is a product of the broader social environment, and the economic planning has to be viewed as an integral part of the wider process aiming not merely at the development of resources in a narrow technical sense, but at the development of human faculties and the building up of an institutional framework to the needs and aspirations of the people."⁵ The experiments* coupled with the avowed social policy gave birth to the nationwide programme of Community Development which aimed at planned, deliberate, conscious, and integrated socio-economic change. With the introduction of *Panchayati Raj* (democratic decentralisation and democracy at the grassroots) the programme became the programme for the people, of the people, and by the people.

Because of the constitutional commitments the social policy for rural development of India was centred round the concept of integrated and all-round development with greater and varying emphasis on economic development. Thus, the plans gave overwhelming emphasis to the programmes of increasing agricultural production mainly because agricultural

⁴*Draft Fifth Five Year Plan*, Government of India, Delhi, 1973, p. 1.

⁵S.K. Dey, *Community Development—A Bird's Eye View*, Asia, London, 1964.

*Mahatma Gandhi (Sevagram), Tagore (Shantiniketan, 1921), Spencer Hatch (Martandam, 1921), Krishnamachari (Kasamba, 1928), Brayne (Gurgaon, 1928), Prakasam (Firka Development Scheme, 1948), Albert Mayers and Horace Holmes (Etawah Pilot Project, 1948), Dey (Nilokheri, 1948), etc.

producers constituted the majority.

Keeping in view the national target of food production, availability of resources, and with an intention to reduce the regional and other types of imbalances, several special programmes, *e g.*, innovative district, intensive agricultural district, intensive agricultural area, high-yielding varieties, multiple and relay cropping, national demonstration, farmers' training and education, functional literacy, dryland farming, small farmers' development agency, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, were started. Other and allied programmes like animal husbandry and fisheries; rural arts, crafts and industry; education and social education; health and sanitation; women and children and family planning were simultaneously in operation in consonance with the above policy.

The national programme of 'minimum needs' contemplated in the Fifth Five Year Plan of the country has been designed to create diversified and dispersed employment and to promote income generating activity on the one hand and to assure a minimum level of social consumption for different areas and sections of the community on the other. The contents of the programme include: facilities for elementary education, public health, drinking water, environmental improvement, rural electrification, and home sites for landless labour in rural areas.

IMPLEMENTATION

The progress in the coverage of the rural development programme has been very rapid and by now it has been possible to execute the programme throughout the rural areas of the country covering about 438 million persons (80.1 per cent of the population) living in over 52,000 Blocks.* Thus, the programme of rural development assumed a scale with such nationwide coverage not seen in any of the developing countries of the world, with the sole objective of promoting many-sided development in the rural areas with active participation of the people.

The programme of rural development does not only have a wide coverage with a huge amount of financial outlay but aims at an integrated approach having a closer alliance of democracy and development. Panchayati Raj has become the means to rural development. It has also helped to create a better understanding of rural problems among the leaders and top administrators of the country. Due to this programme the

*A Block with a population of about 60,000 and with an area of about 150 square miles was the administrative unit. It was headed by a Block Development Officer and was supported by the subject matter specialists (in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation, rural industry, panchayat, rural engineering, social education, women and children, etc.) known as Extension Officers. The Village Level Worker, a multipurpose functionary was the pivot of the programme coordination and execution at the village level.

administrative coordination was made possible which helped the administrators to understand and appreciate the rural problems better. On the other hand, the villagers could approach the officials freely and fearlessly as the Community Development (CD) Blocks became the units of planning, development, and administration with the active participation of the people. Thus, it brought the officials and non-officials together to help them to develop a common language. The power and function could be delegated to the lower level of functionaries and to the non-officials. It helped development of local initiative in the individual and the communities. The great value of extension education as a method of promoting welfare in rural areas was realised and efforts were made to build up a cadre of development workers. It added considerably to the amenities development programme and ushered in the concept of 'area development'.* The technical departments were strengthened. Scientific agriculture was extended to a greater number of farms. This added to the increase production per acre though the result has not been commensurate with the needs of the people and the efforts put in. However, the people's attitude could be changed in this regard to a large extent. Evaluation as a technique of carrying out the programmes of development was introduced through this programme. Above all, the importance of research, training, and education was realised and intensified by the development departments.

Limitations

The rural development programme appears to suffer from a number of weaknesses. There has not only been too elaborate an administrative arrangement but also too costly a programme for the state exchequer of a poor country like India to bear. Extension methods and CD processes were not emphasised to a large extent and greater emphasis was on the development of the area. The programme tended to be a 'works', 'construction', 'amenity' or 'administered programme'. Sometimes, undue and unwise assistance was given to motivate the people. The officers were not tuned up to encourage, stimulate, and catalyse the educational method required for extension and rural development activities. They were too frequently changed mostly due to transfer. Coordination remained difficult and hierarchy unmanageable. Planning from below through people's agencies was not seriously attempted. Some of the important programmes did not receive the attention demanded, e.g., many schools were built but few libraries and many adult education classes were provided but there were few students. Implementation of the Land Reform Acts in Block areas was not given the priority demanded by the programme. The

*A village was the 'micro' unit, a Block became the 'meso' unit and a district or a state functioned as a 'macro' area.

progress made was not in proportion to the expenditure in many spheres, particularly in the field of agricultural production. Projects like the welfare of women and children and the industries' programme remained partially implemented. Building up the 'right type' of workers and their training has not been achieved fully. Adequate attention to the under-privileged classes was not paid and the benefit of the programme, in many cases, went to the economically better-off people. The human aspect remained neglected and there were instances when the programme was confused. Besides, the 'increase in population tended to neutralise a good part of our development efforts'.⁶

Socio-Cultural Factors⁷

The rural people have been at different levels of socio-cultural and economic development and have certain socio-cultural problems. Obviously, when the socio-cultural problems are varied there cannot be any rigid approach to the problems of their economic and other development. The reasons for the limited success in ameliorating their condition has been due to the myopic approach to the technical problems of rural development, partially divorced from the other factors which are essentially non-economic but human in nature. These are the socio-cultural factors which could be elucidated at a higher level of abstraction and generality.

To begin with, it is an undisputed fact that the use of chemical fertilisers does bring about increase in agricultural production but in some communities there is a peculiar belief attached to it and some still view it with suspicion. They labour under the 'wrong notion' that the higher yield they get as a result of applying chemical fertilisers not only reduces quality but also causes many diseases to the consumers. Hence, they are of the opinion that the additional gain due to increased yield would be more than neutralised by expenditure on medicine. Extreme cases of such beliefs are to be found even in recent times among some of the very isolated simple communities. These beliefs hinder not only the agricultural programme but other programmes as well. Similarly, the tastes of the people and their institutions, habits, traditions, and attitudes have been noted to wield a very strong influence on activities concerning agriculture in particular and other development programmes in general. A particular crop, however, improved it may be, may not be accepted by the farmer simply because his 'wife does not like it.'

The ethnocentrism of the rural people also has great influence on any programme of rural development. To be precise, most of the rural people suffer from extreme conservatism or rather from the feeling that their way

⁶S. Chakravarty, "Strategy for Family Planning", *Yojana*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January 26, 1975, pp. 94 and 96.

⁷B.N. Sahay, *Pragmatism in Development: Application of Anthropology*, Bookhive, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 194-200.

of life, beliefs and practices, customs and traditions are the best and, therefore, they would not do away with them and this applies however primitive they may be. This is because one loves one's own way of life acquired from one's ancestors. We can neglect the influence of this factor, but then, adoption of modern ideas will remain a cry in the wilderness.

The religious beliefs and practices of the people have a definite influence upon the matter of adoption of new practices. (Among some of the simple communities, the introduction of white-leg horn poultry birds did not make much headway because the deities liked and were propitiated by the red cocks. In such areas the Rhode-Island-Red birds were more effectively introduced and accepted by the people. Extreme cases of such beliefs could be revealed when we examine, in depth, the causes of failure of rehabilitation schemes. Some of the people refused to occupy and take possession of the houses and land given to them by the government because they believed that they were still being taken care of by their 'spirits' living in and around their original homes.)⁸

The customs of people play an important role and hinder the adoption of modern practices. It has been noted that the customs of 'cock-fighting' practised by certain communities, came in the way of 'cock to cock' exchange programme of animal husbandry—a programme aimed to replace the country cocks with the improved ones.

The strong influence of social customs, traditions, and beliefs has also been noticed among those people who practice 'slash-and burn' type of shifting cultivation. Everybody, including the tribal people, is theoretically convinced that it is a wasteful practice but they would not give it up because it is connected with the physical conditions of the land and their way of life which is the result of interaction among the 'nature-man-spirit' complex.⁹

The influence of socio-cultural factors was also noted while promoting the rural arts, crafts and industries programme. It has been noticed that when a traditional orientation was given, the plan succeeded whereas alien ideas were not favoured.

Similarly, it was found that because of insufficient consideration given to the nature of society and culture, many co-operative societies which were organised, could succeed only partially.

Likewise, while introducing new programmes, the real traditional village leader in whom is vested the power and authority of decision-making, and who has a following, should not be ignored as he has proved to be the important link between the old ideas, values, and institutions and the emerging ones and thus has proved himself very useful for rural

⁸L.P., Vidyarathi, *The Maler: A Study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of a Hill Tribe*, Bookland Pvt. Ltd. Calcutta, 1963.

⁹*Ibid.*

development. When the workers failed to locate such leadership and selected a few fake leaders, they could not make much headway with the programme. It is needless to mention that the emergence of some new leadership has at many places resulted in the creation of small groups, factions, disharmony, and disruption in social cohesion. Such fake leaders instead of paying attention to the constructive programme of development and welfare, fritter most of their time and energy away in mutual antagonism, consolidation of their own position, and apportionment of power.¹⁰ This leadership conflict stifles rural development to a great extent.

On the other hand, the socio-cultural factors have also been found to be the possible determinants of rural development because they were properly studied, understood, and exploited, and were examined by the workers in the network of the social structure and culture of the people. Having done that, the workers approached with a sense of humility and with 'people's mind' and 'people's heart' and not with cultural arrogance or a sense of superiority. They also remembered that a programme could be accepted by the people if it was economical and if it appealed to the people. They also bore in mind that acceptance of other's views amounted to one's own defeat, which nobody likes. Thus, they gained the confidence of the people amongst whom they worked, enjoyed their love, affection and regard through various scientific approaches of the 'right type' they could prove themselves better and successful development workers for, "the effectiveness of a programme should be judged by the quality and enthusiasm of our research and field workers and the impact made on the people and not by the money spent".¹¹

From the discussion above, it is evident that planning and execution of the rural development programme can be made pragmatic if the socio-cultural factors are taken into consideration by all concerned, in addition to the physical and economic factors. There is a need for flexibility and a spirit of accommodation and adjustment (according to the level of problems and socio-cultural factors) while formulating the plan for rural development. In this connection, the five fundamental principles enunciated by the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,* are of great importance.

¹⁰B.N. Sahay, *Dynamics of Leadership*, Bookhive, New Delhi, 1969.

¹¹Indira Gandhi, "Imperatives for Success in Family Planning", *Yojana*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January 26, 1975, p. 95.

*Popularly known as tribal *panchsheel*, but applicable equally to rural development also. These fundamental principles are:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture.
2. Their rights in land and forest should be respected.

(Continued on next page)

To sum up, the importance of correct understanding and right approach in dealing with the different socio cultural factors relating to the problem of rural development cannot be minimised. Proper understanding of the nature of society and culture, values, different ethnological and ecological settings, leadership patterns, etc., is indispensable for any planned programme of rural development. The development personnel of a 'welfare state' have constantly to keep in mind that their job is not to study these factors, but while selecting suitable approaches also to bring about a happy synthesis between the modern and the traditional, between 'the new and the old' which helps to maintain the zest for life.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

Based on the above discussion, the following broad principles of working among the rural population can be suggested:

1. Before starting work in a rural area, one has to identify the different social groups in the community and understand the ways of life of the rural people which include different social institutions, customs, values, norms, etc., through the available literature and reports.
2. The worker must be sincere in gaining as early as possible a working knowledge of the language or dialect through which he can come closer to the people.
3. He must try to gain confidence of the people by scientific approach and natural personal identification. He must go with a humility and accept their food and drink, if offered, as well as respect their way of life and must also participate in their social and cultural activities. This would help him in better identification.
4. After confidence is gained, one can assess the felt-needs of the people and prepare a village plan with people's participation. Unnecessary haste is the road to error and should always be avoided in rural areas. One would 'hasten slowly' by which is meant that one has not to ignore the time factor but at suitable opportunity,

(Continued from previous page)

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their social and cultural institutions.
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

he must strike when the iron is hot. Thus, a successful worker waits, sees, studies and understands a problem, analyses it carefully on scientific lines and then only he finds out the solution himself.

5. As far as possible, one should not try to introduce too many ideas at the same time, only a few selected ones based on the felt-needs of the people and keeping in view the 'priorities' to be introduced.
6. While introducing new ideas, efforts should be made to work through and not in rivalry to, their traditional social institutions. One would also try to revitalise the useful institutions, if necessary.
7. The right type of leader should be selected for the right type of work. Selection of wrong or fake leaders would spoil the programme as well as the confidence in the worker. It may take time to get at the right type of leadership but there is no shortcut to it.
8. While introducing new ideas, one should always watch and see that they do not become contradictory to the traditional ones. If there is adjustment between the old and the emerging values, the zest for life would be gone for ever.
9. The human and physical resources can be mobilised only when the programme is useful and appealing to the people. This aspect must be borne in mind.
10. Repeated persuasion should be made if the worker feels that a programme is congenial to the local conditions. One has to bear in mind that an effective communication always leads to higher adoption.
11. As far as possible, surveys and researches should be conducted properly by the trained Block staff, tribal cultural research institutes, appropriate training institutes and the university departments of anthropology, sociology, etc. The findings should be given due weight and implemented as far as practicable.
12. Last but not the least, the secret of success lies in the true spirit of dedication on the part of the worker. This may appear high sounding but, if the worker has genuine love and sympathy for the rural people and devotion to duty, he has within him the much talked of spirit of dedication.

SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES

Inter alia the following important issues emerge:

1. It may be necessary to orient the various levels and categories of rural development personnel in the subjects like anthropology, sociology, social psychology, rural economics, extension methods,

- survey and evaluation technique, etc. Training strategies in terms of the various types of courses for various categories of personnel at different levels, types of trainers, course content, duration of course, etc., may be determined.
2. Keeping in view the multi-dimensional nature, the problem connected with the rural development programmes and the heterogeneity of the rural population (including the various social and economical strata), it is necessary that an evaluation plan for such a programme must aim at depth analyses of the latent factors responsible for the successful implementation of the programme. This would also mean going for different type of research, evaluation, and monitoring at different level and stages of development, so that there is a continuous feedback for necessary improvement in the planning and administration of the programme relating to rural development. In this connection, it would be necessary to develop a fool-proof strategy for evaluation and research of various types and at various levels so that the results could simultaneously benefit the planning and implementation of the programme.
 3. It has been established that effective communication leads to higher adoption of modern technologies and in bringing about socio-economic change.¹² In view of this, it may be necessary to build up a strategy for rural communication and extension education.
 4. It has been experienced that rural institutions (both traditional and emergent) play an important role in fostering the programme of rural development. It is necessary, therefore, that a proper strategy be evolved so that the extent and nature of participation by various institutions in the promotion of rural development could be clearly understood, linkages among the various institutions be established (to foster better coordination and eliminate any unnecessary duplication of roles and efforts), and for building up the rural institutions to ensure that the goals of rural development are achieved.¹³ □

¹²I.B. Singh and B.N. Sahay, *Communication Behaviour and Social Change*, Bookhive, New Delhi, 1972.

¹³K.N. Singh and B.N. Sahay, "Role of Rural Institutions in Agricultural Development," in *Papers and Proceedings of the Workshop-cum-Seminar on Rural Institutions and Agricultural Development*, Community Development, Hyderabad, 1972, pp. 304-308,

Health Policy and Administration in India —An Overview

R.S. Gupta

M.V.N. Murthy

HEALTH Services in India, like any other country, have passed through different stages of evolution and have reflected the socio-political changes in the country. The most important landmark in the health services in the country was the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1859. Subsequently, further momentum was given by the constitution of the Plague Commission in 1904, which recommended the appointment of a Public Health Commissioner to the Government of India. The introduction of Government of India Act of 1919 and 1935 brought considerable reforms resulting in the autonomy of the State administration and reallocation of responsibilities between the Centre and State Governments and transference of medical administration to the States.

During the pre-independence era, the level of health in India, on the whole, had been very low as evidenced by the large amount of preventable morbidity and mortality. The death rate and infant mortality rate during the period 1941-51 were 21.4 per 1000 population and 161 per 1000 live births. The average annual number of deaths in India during the same period from epidemic diseases like malaria, cholera, smallpox, plague, etc., was of the order of about 19,00,000.¹

Prior to independence, there were about 8,600 hospitals and dispensaries in the country of which about 5,200 institutions were located in rural areas and the rest were in urban areas. The total number of hospital beds was of the order of 1,13,000 of which only about 30,000 were located in rural areas. Thus, before independence the country had only one hospital bed

¹Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, *Report of the Task Force on Operation: Research for Improved Delivery of Health Services* (Mimeographed), December 1974, p. 3.

per 4000 population, on an average, or 0.25 bed for 1000 population; and one medical care institution on an average for every 28,000 urban population and one for every 43,000 rural population.²

It was only in 1946 that the Health Survey and Development Committee,³ which was appointed by the Government of India with Sir Joseph Bhore as Chairman, in their report envisaged a well developed health services in the country and suggested that no person should be deprived of adequate medical care because of his inability to pay for it. It also recommended that the major objective of a fully developed programme should be accomplished in 30 to 40 years through 'a long term programme' and a smaller scheme be implemented within 10 years as 'short term programme'. The Health Survey and Development Committee gave further impetus to the development of health services in the country. One of the important recommendation of the Committee was that both at the Centre and in the States, medical and public health departments should be combined under a single administrative head. This new outlook has permeated through different levels of health administration in the country and has reflected significantly in the administrative evolution of health developments in the Centre as well as in the States. As a result of this recommendation, the post of Director-General of Health Services was created at the Centre. Similar change had taken place in most of the States and Union territories to bring about coordination between the curative and preventive health services. With the administrative fusion and integration of curative and preventive services, the compartmentalisation of the two has been overcome.

The recommendations made by the Health Survey and Planning Committee, appointed by the Government of India in 1959,⁴ had also contributed a great deal towards the reorganisation of health services during recent times. India is one of the very few countries that had from the very beginning planned health services as a part of general socio economic development. The broad objectives of health plans are to strengthen the health infrastructure and to complete eradication of diseases and their integration into basic health services. Health care system was coordinated with other nation-building activities and was made a part of community development programme and administered through a network of primary health centres, which formed the nucleus for a minimum scheme of health services for the rural community.

All developmental activities of the five year plans were to be planned and executed through these community development blocks. The Primary

²*Ibid.*

³Ministry of Health, Government of India, *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee* (Chairman: Sir Joseph Bhore), 1946.

⁴Ministry of Health, Government of India, *Health Survey and Planning Committee*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1961.

Health Centre with its three sub-centres (which later increased upto eight) integrated into community development block movement, was envisaged to be the focal point for delivery of comprehensive, integrated, curative and preventive health services in rural areas. Each primary health centre (PHC) was to be established for a population of 80 to 100 thousand population and a sub-centre for every ten thousand population. Thus over the last 28 years of planned development a huge organisational structure came into being with about 5293 PHCs and about 33616 sub-centres spread over the country for delivery of health services in rural areas. Each PHC complex is staffed by 60 to 70 health workers of different categories. During the same period there had been phenomenal growth of other health institutions like hospitals, dispensaries and training facilities for different categories of health workers.

Further with the governmental concern for the menace of communicable diseases like malaria, smallpox, tuberculosis, and later with the explosive population growth, a number of vertical health programmes came into being, for their control and eradication. There are two possible approaches to tackle the health problems in a country like India, which has a federal structure; one is to build up a framework of health services, able in due course to cope with the prevalent diseases; and the other is to attack the principal diseases by mass campaigns. The first is generally known as the 'horizontal approach'. It seeks to tackle all the health problems on a long-term basis through the creation of a system of permanent institutions commonly known as 'general health services'. The second or vertical approach calls for the solution of a given health problem through the application of specific measures by means of a single purpose machinery. Vertical health programme is also referred to as mass campaign, categorical programme or unipurpose programme; similarly horizontal health services are also called basic health services/general health services/multipurpose health services/integrated health services.

The terms vertical health programme and horizontal health services give precise idea of the organisational structure of each. In India, horizontal health organisations in some form or the other existed in all the States. Similarly, to tackle some urgent community health problems a number of vertical health programmes have been in operation in the country for several years.

During the First and Second Five Year Plans emphasis was laid on control of communicable diseases, improvement of environmental sanitation, organisation of institutional facilities, training of medical and para-medical personnel, provision of maternity and child health (MCH) services, health education and nutrition. The First Five Year Plan also recognised that rapidly growing population would jeopardise the programme of raising the standard of living. Hence the programme for family planning was included in the plan. The aim was to reduce birth rate. The effort was to make

people aware of the problem and provide devices and services for planning the family.

In the Second Five Year Plan more emphasis was laid on the family planning programme with a larger outlay of funds. The programme included education, provision of services, training and research. Facilities for voluntary sterilisation and increased availability of conventional contraceptives were provided. Research activity was extended to include study of demographic aspects, communication and attitudes in addition to bio-medical aspects. During the decade 1951-61, the approach was essentially clinical-expecting people to come to the clinics for advice and devices. This was buttressed by some mass information and publicity efforts.

The Third Five Year Plan was formulated with the broad objectives of expanding health services in order to bring about progressive improvement in the health of the people and to create conditions favourable to greater efficiency and production. The third plan also envisaged a vastly expanded family planning programme in the wake of 1961 census which came as an eye opener. It was realised that the progress of plan development was likely to be neutralised by population growth. There was, therefore, a shift from the restricted and narrow clinical approach to one of extensive community education, provision of facilities near the homes of the people, advice on the largest possible scale and a widespread popular effort in every rural and urban community. There were organisational changes so as to put into effect the new approach. The department of Family Planning was established in the Ministry of Health, Government of India.

The fourth plan was worked out with the objective of providing effective base for health services in the rural areas by rendering preventive curative services through strengthening of primary health centres (PHCs) so that they are ready to take over the maintenance phase of control and/or eradication programmes. The fourth plan approach to Family Planning Programme was in laying down for the first time in concrete terms, the objective of reducing the birth rate from 39 to 32 per 1000 during the plan period. To achieve this, targets were assigned to the districts and primary health centres through the States. Some of the new schemes started during the period included the post-partum programme with the objective of providing family planning and maternal and child Health Services to obstetric and abortion cases at an appropriate time when the women are most receptive to the idea of planning their families. One major step which was taken, which can be termed as supportive of the programme was 'The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act' which was placed on the Statute Book on 1st April 1972. The measure was designed to liberalise the provision for the resort to abortion in cases where there is undesired conception.

Keeping in view the experiences so far obtained and the difficulties in the provision of health care services in the rural areas, it had been

realised that acceleration of the pace of health programme was an urgent imperative and a much more concerted effort and substantially larger investment was vital for rapidly improving the health profile of the country. During the Fifth Five Year Plan, the attainment of certain minimum objectives had been planned and a national strategy in health was prepared.⁵ The elements in the provision for a minimum needs programme were elementary education, rural health, nutrition, drinking water, provision of house sites, slum improvement, rural roads and rural electrification.

For increasing the accessibility of health services in the rural areas and correcting the regional disparities in the shortest possible time, the goals to be pursued in the national strategy on health during the Fifth Five Year Plan were:

1. Expanding the network of medical facilities and health services in the country;
2. Increasing accessibility of health services and medical facilities in rural areas;
3. Correction of disparities in the provision of health services between urban and rural areas;
4. Intensification of national programmes/eradication of diseases;
5. Laying greater emphasis on provision of adequate potable water supply, disposal of wastes and improvement of environmental sanitation;
6. Improving the quality of health services provided by securing in position the full complement of trained medical and para-medical personnel at PHC; and
7. Improving the quality of and providing the necessary rural orientation to medical and para-medical personnel.

In order to achieve the goals, the following steps were contemplated:

1. Establishment of one PHC for a population of 30,000 and one sub-centre for a population of 5000;
2. Upgrading the 1500 to 2000 PHCs to 25 bed rural hospital;
3. Provision of basic health workers and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANM) at the rate of one for every 5000 population; and
4. Utilisation of the services of a large number of trained and experienced practitioners of indigenous system of medicine including homoeopathy.

The fifth plan approach to family planning was to increasingly integrate family planning services with those of health, maternity and child health and nutrition. Efforts were to be made to convert more and

⁵Government of India, *National Strategy for Health*, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Directorate General of Health Services, New Delhi.

more vertical programme workers into multipurpose workers. The continuity was in setting specific targets. The change was in reorganisation of the personnel at the Primary Health Centres to be involved in the total health programmes.

OUTLAYS AND EXPENDITURE IN HEALTH SECTOR

Successive five year plans had recorded substantial increase in financial allocations for health programmes. An outlay of Rs. 1009.00 millions during the first Five Year Plan had increased to Rs. 7960.00 millions during the Fifth Five Year Plan. However, the percentage of allocation of health sector out of total plan outlay tended to decrease from plan to plan. While it was 4.98 per cent during the First Five Year Plan, it came down to 2.13 per cent during the Fifth Five Year Plan period. The allocation for family planning rightly recorded considerable increased allocations. From an insignificant amount of Rs. 7.00 millions during the First Five Year Plan, the allocation increased to Rs. 5160.00 millions during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

Water supply and sanitation programme also received considerable inputs during successive five year plans. The allocations for the same increased from Rs. 490.00 millions during First Five Year Plan to 10,220.00 millions during Fifth Five Year Plan.

The per capita expenditure on health from all governmental sources was Rs. 1.50 in 1956, Rs. 2.35 in 1961, Rs. 3.79 in 1966-67 and Rs. 7.72 in 1973-74.⁶ It was minimum in Bihar and maximum in Jammu & Kashmir. The distribution of the same was distinctly unequal in different States. In 1956, except in Assam and West Bengal, the per capita expenditure per year on health was less than one rupee.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The successive three decades of planned development registered noticeable improvement in mortality. The crude death-rate had fallen to 14.7 per thousand population in 1975. The infant mortality rate decreased from 161 during 1941-46 to 122 in 1971. The expectancy of life had increased to 46.4 years.

The hospitals and dispensaries increased from 8,600 in 1950-51 to 10,000 in 1956, 12,000 in 1961 and to 14,600 in 1966. Their number was about 15,257 in 1974. Primary health centres had been the sheet anchor for provision of comprehensive health services in rural India. The establishment of a network of such institution with three sub-centres each began in 1951-52 with the commencement of First Five Year Plan.

⁶*Health Sector of India: An Overview*, National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi, 1977, p. 17.

Subsequently, the number of sub-centres per primary health centre was augmented during the decade 1961-71 under family welfare programme. Now there are about 5,293 primary health centres in India spread over the length and breadth of the country with about 33,616 sub-centres. The bed-population ratio which was 0.25 per 1000 population in 1951, became 0.64 in 1968 and 0.58 in 1974.

In 1947 when India became independent, there were 22 medical colleges in India. Subsequently, there had been a rapid growth of facilities for medical education. Now there are 106 medical colleges in the country. Thus during the last nearly 30 years after independence, the number of medical colleges increased by almost five-fold, the number of admissions increased by six-fold and out-turn from medical colleges recorded an increase of more than eleven-fold. The stock of allopathic physician in the country has increased from 59,000 in 1950 to about 200,000 in 1975 and that of nurses has increased from 25,325 in 1950 to 145,913 in 1975.

Smallpox had been eradicated from the country due to vigorous and sustained efforts made in that direction whose economic benefit alone estimated to Rs. 1,057.61 millions for the period July 1973 to December 1975 and Rs. 728 million, annual recurring benefit for subsequent years.⁷

The National Malaria Eradication Programme has undoubtedly contributed towards greater production particularly in the agriculture field. Vast areas of land which were earlier considered unproductive have been brought under control and the outbreak of frequent epidemics is a thing of the past. Plague which was a dreaded disease at one time has completely disappeared from the country and no case has been reported since 1967.

SHORTFALLS

The achievements though by no means significant are however not enough. Gross disparity in the distribution of health infrastructure still exists between the different geographic areas. The statewide and rural-urban areawise distribution presents wide imbalances. While only about 20 per cent of population live in urban areas, there are 2.48 beds per 1,000 population in urban areas and 0.20 beds for 1,000 population in rural areas, though notionally urban beds are available for rural population as well. Rural urban disparities are apparent in all the States. Further, while Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have the lowest number of beds (0.38 and 0.37 respectively per 1,000 population), Jammu & Kashmir and West Bengal have the highest number (0.93 and 0.90 respectively). While the needs of the population remain more or less the same, the disparities

⁷T.J. Ramaiah, "Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Intensified Campaign against Smallpox in India", *Journal of Health Administration*, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1976 (As quoted in Health Sector of India; An Overview, NIHFW, New Delhi, 1977, p. 16.)

continue to persist.

The PHCs, the focal points for provision of medical facilities in the rural areas have too large a coverage to be adequate and with the growth of the population over the years, their effectiveness has gradually deteriorated. Due to lack of adequate finances and non-availability of the full complement of medical and para-medical personnel, the standards of health services has become diluted. At the district and sub-district level, referral services have not expanded or improved significantly. Though the programme of disease control and/or eradication have considerably reduced the incidence, yet the stage has not been reached where these diseases cease to be major public health problem.

The rural-urban imbalance is however being corrected more recently as production of professional workers has out-stripped demands in the last few years. The same, however, cannot be said of auxiliary health workers whose shortage especially in female categories is one of the important continuing handicaps.

NEW APPROACH AND STRATEGY BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Government of India in 1977, brought about different approach and strategy in the field of health. The basic principles underlying the new approach and strategy may be summarised as follows :

1. The role of the Health Ministry should cover much broader areas than that developed by the previous Ministry. Immediately after assumption of office, the new Health Minister changed the title of 'Ministry of Health and Family Planning' to 'Ministry of Health and Family Welfare' emphasising that family planning is not an end in itself but only a means to promoting family welfare.
2. Merely controlling the population is not enough. All the people must be healthy at the same time. This is a significant shift in the emphasis from population control to a balance between population control and improvement in health at the same time.
3. Need and advisability for use of 'all community resources' for health plans and schemes. The use of the voluntary agencies and associations, the involvement of Panchgyati Raj Institutions, the enlisting of the cooperation of union of workers, and full use of the charitable and religious associations to be the corner stone for further health planning.
4. Coercion of all types to go and done away with as a means for limiting family size. A change in emphasis has taken place from completion of targets by involvement of total governmental machinery to one of enlisting the cooperation of the people by educational and motivational techniques.

A national population policy earlier adopted in 1975 was revised in 1977. The salient features of this policy are:

- Family Planning will be pursued vigorously as a wholly voluntary programme and as an integral part of a comprehensive policy covering education, health, maternity and child care, family welfare and nutrition. All methods of contraception will be given equal emphasis.
- The minimum age of marriage is proposed to be raised to 18 for girls and 21 for boys and suitable legislation to give effect to this proposal is being prepared. The question of making registration of marriage compulsory is being actively considered.
- The representation in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies have been frozen on the basis of the 1971 census until 2001. The constitutional amendment has been brought into effect by virtue of the Constitutional Amendment Act 1976 which came into force from January 3, 1977.
- Where population is reckoned as a factor, such as in the allocation of Central assistance to State Plans, devolution of taxes and duties and grant-in-aid population figures of 1971 census will continue to be followed till 2001. In the matter of Central assistance to State Plans, 8 per cent has been specifically earmarked against performance in the Family Welfare Programme.
- Special measures will be adopted to raise the level of female education up to the middle level as well as non-formal education for young women and steps will be taken to provide nutrition to the children by way of supplementary diet.
- Assistance to State/Union Territory Government for sterilisations will be provided at the rate of Rs. 150 per case of tubectomy and Rs. 100 per case of vasectomy irrespective of the parity of the acceptors. Out of this amount, the acceptors share in cash will uniformly be Rs. 70 (both female and male) and the balance of Rs. 80 and Rs. 30 respectively for tubectomy and vasectomy will be kept for providing drugs, dressing, transport facilities and diet to the acceptors.
- Group incentives will be promoted in a bold and imaginative manner so as to make the Family Welfare Programme a mass movement with greater community involvement.
- Full rebate will be allowed in the income-tax assessment for amounts given as donation for the family welfare programmes.

The Government sought to give a major shift in emphasis for provision of health services from one of urban orientation to the present rural oriented need based health care through a comprehensive rural health scheme. To give a concrete shape to the scheme, the concept of the Community Health Worker (CHW) was introduced. This scheme was launched

in the country on October 2, 1977 with the aim of bringing health care within easy reach of every citizen by organising a cadre of trained voluntary workers selected by the community. The scheme provides that every village or community with a population of 1,000 will select a representative who is willing to serve the community. The person should be literate, of any sex, acceptable to all sections of the society and should not belong to any group, faction or political party. Villages having less than 1,000 population were allowed to select one person while those having more than 1,000 population were allowed to select more than one person. The selected persons are required to undergo a 3-month training programme in promotive and preventive health practices in the PHCs. On completion of training, the CHW is provided with a kit, manual and drugs. The CHW under training are paid a stipend of Rs. 200 per month for 3 months and on completion of the training an honorarium of Rs. 50 is paid per month. The scheme is renamed in July 1979 as the Community Health Volunteer's Scheme.

While at the level of the community, the services will be rendered by the community selected health volunteer the professionally trained worker will be at the sub-centre. The programme of multipurpose worker^s would be improved and strengthened so that all unipurpose workers are re-oriented and additional female multipurpose workers are trained and appointed. With the concept of integrated delivery of health and family welfare service forming the core of the Governments' programme, all work will be done by the trained multipurpose workers in an integrated manner with particular stress on preventive and promotive health and maternal and child care.

The International Conference on Primary Health Care held in Alma Ata, USSR in September 1978 appealed to the nations of the world to provide "Health for all by 2,000 A.D." The Declaration, issued after the conference, now popularly known as Alma Ata Declaration on Primary Health Care to which India is a signatory has cast a responsibility on the people and Government of India to strive towards that goal. It is estimated that by 2,000 A.D. The population of India would be 917 millions—674 million rural and 243 million urban. The health infrastructure required in the country by 2,000 A.D. would be:

(i) Community Health Workers	6,74,000
(ii) Trained Dais	6,74,000
(iii) Sub-centres	1,40,000
(iv) Subsidiary Health Centres	28,000
(v) Primary Health Centres	14,000

^sMinistry of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, *Report of the Multipurpose Worker*, New Delhi, 1973.

(vi) Up-graded PHC/Sub-District Hospitals	3,500
(vii) District Hospitals/Referral Hospitals	400

The above infrastructure, if in position, would on the basis of accepted/suggested norms of personnel/facilities provide 1 doctor for 8,000 population for Primary Health Care in rural areas (against 1 doctor for 30,000—35,000 population at present). It would further provide one bed for 3,000 population (against one bed for 15,000 rural population at present). Of course, in actual practice the ratio would be much higher as this does not take into account the doctor's serving in the rural areas outside the governmental organisation, the beds available in non-government institutions and the beds available/used by rural population in medical college hospitals and socialised hospitals.

The present national health policy⁹ has the following short-term and long-term goals.

Short Term Goals

1. To eradicate/control communicable diseases in the country;
2. to provide adequate infrastructure for primary health care in the rural areas and in urban slums;
3. to utilise all available methods for health education and spread the message of Health and Family Welfare;
4. to utilise knowledge from different systems of medicine for providing quick and safe relief from sickness and debility at the cheapest possible cost;
5. to reorient medical education to be in tune with the needs of the community;
6. to provide increasing maternal and child health coverage.

Long Term Goals

1. to improve public health services by setting up a chain of sanitary cum-epidemiological stations;
2. to ensure 100 per cent coverage of all segments of population with preventive services;
3. to create a self-sustaining system of health security so that earnings of the individual are not affected adversely during periods of illness;
4. to impart medical education in a medium which is an integral part of our culture and life style and thus remove the foreign concepts

⁹Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, *Draft National Health Policy*, New Delhi.

associated with foreign languages which are major factors inhibiting people from understanding the true and proper role which medicine plays in the development of a healthy community;

5. to utilise available knowledge from the ancient and modern systems of medicine in an effort to develop a composite system of medicine thus obliterating the cast system prevailing in the field of medicine;
6. to inculcate a sense of self-reliance and discipline in all segments of population so that all sides of health square, namely, preventions, promotions, cure and rehabilitations are effectively handled at the local level consistent with the developments in the field of medicine. □

Concepts and Strategies for Integrated Development

A.P. Barnabas

It has been suggested that what marks the contemporary world from the world of the past is the power to transform nature. Daniel Bell says: "Man has needs that can be satisfied only by transforming nature, but in transforming nature he transforms himself; as man's powers expand, he gains a new consciousness and new needs—technological, psychological and spiritual—which serve further to stimulate man's activity and search for new power."¹ The statement in a nutshell defines the relationship between man and nature. The problem that arises however is whether the resources from nature are inexhaustible. If they are, what would be the strategies for exploiting them by man to fulfil his needs? On the other hand, if the resources are limited, the approach to its utilisation would have to be different.

It is not possible to state specifically as to what the status of natural resources is. Evidence is not sufficient. There are vast areas of natural resources which are yet to be explored. It is said that there are 350,000 of plant species but only about 3,500 species have been used. The oceans, the hills, and forests, and the fossil fuels are yet to be studied. Often a concern is expressed at the 'diminishing' natural resources and increasing demands of human beings. Is this an alarmist view or is there substance for concern? Here the question is, is the analysis based on evidence of the present or does it take into consideration the realm of possibilities? While the present has to be taken into consideration, an approach to integrated development must necessarily mean projection into the future.

What does 'integrated development' mean? Some have thought of it in geographical terms, such as, 'area development'. Others have considered satisfying all human needs—physical and social—as integrated development. The benefits of development reaching all sections in the society is

¹Daniel Bell, "Technology, Nature and Society", *American Scholar*, Summer 1973, p. 1.

yet another view. The totality of programmes which affects every aspect of human life is also considered 'integrated development'.

For the purpose of this paper 'integrated development' may be considered as systematic use of all resources by human beings to fulfil their needs. The needs are ever changing and the ability of man to transform nature to his advantage would thus become an ongoing process. Thus man in responding to the rising challenges develops himself. It is this situation which allows him to use his imagination and be innovative. Transforming nature to fulfil his needs allows him to be himself. In the ultimate analysis, integrated development should mean the opportunity for fulfilling man's personality.

The relationship between human and natural resources could be looked at in an abstract manner. Resource planning would be a basic requirement in bringing about integrated development. Firey suggests that there are three variables that could affect resource planning—the ecological option (available resources), ethnological option (cultural factors) and economic option (free market).

THE ECOLOGICAL OPTION

The ecological option refers to the natural resources that are available. Land, water, minerals, fossil fuels, wild animals and fishes, energy, are all resources that have been used in the development of human society. The question of adequacy of the natural resources has been raised. More so in the recent past in view of the 'population explosion'. The estimated population of the world in the year 2000 is 6,900 million² The question as to whether the scarcity is increasing is difficult to answer, particularly at the global level. The distribution of natural resources in different parts of the world is unequal. The same can be said of regions within countries. There are some resources which replenish themselves—others do not. The information available on most resource is very limited. Speaking of water, Fisher and Potter say that comprehensive data for the U.S. is limited and for many parts of the world virtually non-existent.³ Projection of the requirement of the various resources for development for 2000 AD have been made by them on the basis of the population of 6,900 million. These are:

1. A tripling of aggregate food output just to provide adequate calories and considerably more to provide adequate proteins and vitamins.

²Joseph L. Fisher and Neal Potter, *World Prospects for Natural Resources*, John Hopkins Press, 1964, p. 42.

³*Ibid.*, p. 62.

2. A five-fold increase in energy output if 1950-60 trends continue or the world reaches a level of consumption averaging a little above the western Europe in 1960.
3. Perhaps a five-fold increase in output of iron ore and ferrous alloys and less in copper but much larger in bauxite aluminium.
4. A possible quadrupling of lumber output.⁴

The basic requirement in resource planning is information of the availability of resources but there is insufficient data. In each region, therefore, the prime need is to make an assessment of the resources. The assessment should not only consider what exists, but also what is potential. Whether the emphasis would be on conservation or development would depend on it. It would also have a bearing on the manner of exploitation. The strategy would vary depending on the scarcity of resources or known potential resources. If there is a fear of increasing scarcity, then conservation, developing alternative resources and proper usage would be relevant. If resource used is not put to a purpose, it could set the clock back on development. Run off water is not only a waste of resource but could damage crops and also create problems for other farmers.

Conservation refers not only to the prudent use of resources but the management of resources in such a manner as to prevent it from being overexploited within a short time. (Prevention of pollution would also be an important aspect). Over-stocking of animals would mean more grass to be grown, soil would suffer, trees may be destroyed. Burning would result in the loss of soil nutrients. When the roads and railways are laid is the effect on natural resources taken into consideration? It must also be realised that nature has ways of balancing itself. This aspect must be taken into account in the process of conservation. "Where wild animals are destroyed indiscriminately, vermin are liable to increase (naturally, however, there must be a reasonable control over wild life in agricultural areas). Leopards prey on baboons; kill them and baboons will breed up and ravage crops. Snakes, many of which are harmless, keep down rodents: destroy them and the rodents will become a worse pest. Birds eat insects and rodents; kill the birds and there will be still more insects and rodents to ravage our food supplies."⁵

Conservation by itself may not be sufficient. There is need in places for development of natural resources. There are two reasons for this. One is that, as mentioned earlier, the potential resources are to be discovered. The other reason is that there is a need for replenishing. Here, the role of science and technology, which are human resources, has to be understood. Resource development is defined by Shimkin as "A process in which

⁴Fisher and Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 51

⁵R.C. Haw, *The Conservation of Natural Resources*, Faber and Faber, 1959, p. 26,

natural endowments of an area and its population are captured by appropriate management, productive skills and technology for the end-uses of household consumption, public service, defence, capital accumulation, including that of knowledge and exportation.”⁶

One may not entirely agree with the definition but it does provide a point of view. Resource planning requires assessment and careful management as well as use of appropriate technology. The extent to which technology can be used in development is indicated by the following example cited by Subramaniam in his paper on ‘Integrated Rural Development’.

One might mention that Karimnagar experiment of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in a backward district of Andhra Pradesh. As part of an integrated programme of developing this district, the CSIR undertook, through the National Geophysical Research Institute (NGRI) assisted by the Indian Photointerpretation Institute (IPI), a comprehensive survey of natural resources, using aerial photo-interpretation techniques. The geophysical and forest resources of the area were quickly assessed and mapped. Project scientists working locally in the district were able to work on the survey data, supplement them by local investigators and present concrete suggestions to entrepreneurs and departments of Government in planning afforestation, soil conservation, locating irrigation wells, determining fertiliser doses, setting up mineral development projects and the like. The integrated resource surveys and rural engineering surveys organised by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) provide similar opportunities in other states. Nor need such attempts be confined to a survey of the physical resources. In the Karimnagar district itself, the CSIR in collaboration with the National Institute of Nutrition (NIN) and the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) initiated a major survey of the incidence of nutritional deficiencies among the local population, and utilised the opportunity to involve students and teachers in propagating elementary techniques in improved hygiene and dietary habits.⁷

Development of natural resources could also mean search for alternatives. “If petroleum were the only source of energy for food production and if we use all petroleum resources solely to produce food the estimated reserve of 66,053 billion litres would last a mere 13 years. The challenge, therefore, lies in developing techniques which will help to improve productivity continuously without a concurrent loss in the efficiency of conversion

⁶M. Clawson, (CD), *Natural Resources and International Development*, John Hopkins 1964, p. 157.

⁷C. Subramaniam, “Strategy for Integrated Rural Development”. A paper presented in the Indian Parliament, March 1976, p. 7.

of cultural energy. This will need a stepping-up of research on tillage, water use, integrated nutrient supply and recycling of recoverable sources of energy.”⁸

Answering the question is it possible to supplement diets with chemicals so that you have something that looks and tastes like familiar food? Dr. Stever (President: National Science Foundation, USA) referred to the adding of soyabean meal to meats. He went on further to say: “Within certain limits we can increase the production of food both in sea and land. The pellet feeding of the cattle can completely change the industry. You would not need range-land at all.”⁹ For alternative energy resources, solar energy has often been mentioned. Fisher says: “It is clear that solar energy resources are far more adequate for supplying the world with energy, although, of course, they may not be the least expensive.”¹⁰

The other sources though not on a large scale that could be considered for alternative sources of energy are, tidal power, geo-thermal power, fusion power and trash combustion.

The increasing scarcity is a possible phenomenon. Even granting it would be a reality, the situation calls not for despair but for efforts to overcome them and, if need be, develop alternate resources. Barnett and Morse are more optimistic. They say: “Half a century ago, the air was for breathing and burning; now it is also a natural source for chemical industry. Two decades ago, Vermont granite was only building and tomb stone material; now it is potential fuel, each ton of which has usable energy content (uranium) equal to 150 tons of coal. The notion of absolute limit to natural resource availability is untenable when the definition of resources it changes drastically and unpredictably over time.”¹¹

Weather could be considered as a resource. The dependence of agriculture in most countries on the weather need hardly be emphasised. “A more careful examination of weather in relation to crops and animal productivity is needed.” Fortunately, a close coordination has of late been developed between meteorologists and agricultural research and extension workers. Day-to-day decisions by farmers require the correct interpretation of shortrange weather outlook. “Research on soil, crop, weather correlation, weather modification, hail dispersal and efficient forms of utilis-

⁸M.S. Swaminathan, “Science and Integrated Rural Development”, Presidential Address, January, 1976, *Indian Science Congress*, p. 26.

⁹H.G. Stever, “What is Science Doing to Solve Our Scarcity Crises”, *Science Digest*, September, 1974, p. 5.

¹⁰John C. Fisher, *Energy Crisis in Perspective*, John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1974, p. 27.

¹¹Barnett and Morse, *Scarcity and Growth*, John Hopkins, 1963, p. 11.

ing dew should go on.”¹² At a more sophisticated level, Stever refers to the studies such as effects of pollutants, the upper atmosphere, monsoon experiment, solar radiation phenomenon, physical basis of climate, effects of mountain ranges on wind patterns, etc. These are indicative of the type of information that can be available for man to make necessary adjustments so that his quality of life can be improved.

The paper has so far been concerned with the natural resources.

THE ETHNOLOGICAL OPTION

We may now look at what Firey calls the ethnological option. This essentially refers to the role of culture in the utilising of resources. “So pervasive is the role of culture in fixing people’s perception and manipulation of natural phenomenon that different populations though occupying the same habitat may have literally different resources. It is only insofar as habitat has been made available by the culturally available beliefs that it contains any resources at all.”¹³ What is being suggested here is that for a gainful exploitation of the resources, some aspects of culture may have to undergo change. Food habits, methods of agriculture, attitudes to nature, mechanisation and technology, all may have to change. The culture of a people is an aspect of human resource. It determines the manner in which natural resource can be utilised. It is in the process of cultural adjustment to the utilisation of natural resources that an integrated approach to development can be discerned.

Human resources can be classified as those referring to the body and those referring to the mind. Reference has already been made to the population growth. In India the population has risen from about 350 million in 1951 to a little over 600 million in 1976. It must however be noted that the availability of resources in terms of food grains has actually increased. (From about 52 million tons in 1951 to 114 tons in 1976). This is not to suggest that there is no need to control growth. “Population growth is one generator of resource consumption that must be limited or we just agree to run down hill the quality of life.”¹⁴

To improve quality of life is indeed the basic objective of development. So the question of population growth is not to be looked at only from the point of view as to whether through various devices, population can be maintained at a particular level, but also whether the quality of life is improving. In the ultimate analysis, natural resources are limited. As suggested earlier, an assessment has to be made, as to what maximum population it can support at a given level of consumption. Population projections have to be made and, if need be necessary action initiated to

¹²Swaminathan, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹³Walter Firey, *Man, Mind and Land*, Free Press of Glencoe, 1960, p. 27.

¹⁴Stever, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

control the population. The ethnological factor, *i.e.*, changes in attitudes and beliefs are also relevant here.

The capacity to think, to have an imagination, to develop institutions are all aspects of human resources. In any developmental process, these abilities have to be allowed to have their full play. The development of mind cannot take place in vacuum. Opportunities need to be created for the mind and imagination to develop. This would require sustained training. It is the desire to reach beyond that would provide the motivation for greater effort to think, to act and to cooperate. Integrated development of man cannot be restricted only to the physical well-being. The exploitation of natural resources to a large extent would provide for a physical and material welfare. This is necessary but is this sufficient? There is as much need to be creative and innovative in social, political and economic thinking as there is in the use of natural resources, science and technology. Men may have to give up their traditional ways, and develop new human relations in order to exploit nature as well as apply science and technology to solve his problem. Such an approach can come from minds that have been trained to think freely and be imaginative. One of the major human resources would be a mind that can project into the future and suggest methods of meeting the future. One of the characteristics of a 'modern man' is the openness to new experiences and innovation. New skills and dexterity in use of skills can be achieved where there is a prepared mind.


THE ECONOMIC OPTION

The economic option is also mentioned by Firey. He uses it in a rather restrictive sense. "The point of departure for economic theory is an attribute of scarcity which attaches to all human activities. This derives from the limited supply in which the productive factors are viewed as a means to the satisfaction of various wants."¹⁵ The economic option can also be considered in terms of the operation of free market. The point has already been made that the distribution of natural resources is uneven over the world. If the free market is allowed to operate, then there would be an increasing gap between the haves and the have-nots of natural resources. The need is for cooperation and collaboration between people. Without such cooperation, it may not be possible for those areas which have not been endowed with many resources to improve the quality of life of the people. River projects across the countries is an example of such cooperation. Maybe, this could be extended to other resources as well.

It might be appropriate to conclude this paper with the statement from Julian Huxley, who is also concerned with man, nature and development.

¹⁵Firey, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

He writes: "Man's place and role in nature is now clear. No other animal is capable of further hope to challenge his dominant position. Only man is capable of further real advance, of major new evolutionary achievement. He and he alone is now responsible for the future of this planet and its inhabitants. In him evolution is becoming conscious of itself; his mind is the agency by which evolution can reach new levels of achievement. Man's destiny, we now perceive, is to be the agent of evolution on this earth realizing richer and ampler possibilities for the evolutionary process and providing greater fulfilment to more human beings. The idea of greater fulfilment for all mankind could become a powerful motive force capable of influencing the direction of future evolution and overriding the more obvious motives of immediate personal, or national, self interest. But it can only do so if it and its implications are properly understood and made comprehensible to the bulk of men all over the world. For this we need not only the extension of science but reorientation of education, not only more knowledge but also better expression and wider dissemination of ideas....Our new vision assures us that human life could gradually be transferred from a competitive struggle against blind faith into a greater collective enterprise consciously undertaken. We see that enterprise as one for greater fulfilment through the better realization of human possibilities."¹⁶



Social Insurance Administration in India

K.S.R.N. Sarma

SOCIAL security, the concern for the maintenance of the living standards of the citizens, by ensuring their income against contingencies like illness, disablement, unemployment, old age, death of the breadwinner of the family, etc., is one of the hallmarks of the modern welfare state.¹ The approaches usually followed in implementation of this public policy, viz., social insurance and assistance,² are matters of considerable interest for the students of public administration. Of further significance in the Indian context, is the strategy adopted in the successive development plans of emphasising reforms in socio-economic institutions through measures like social security, simultaneously with the programmes for increased production.³ The Indian constitution places 'social insurance' under concurrent jurisdiction of the union and the states, while its complementary aspects like health, relief of the disabled and unemployable, etc., are within the competence of the state governments.⁴ A question of crucial importance in this context is, how far this constitutional position has been conducive for evolution of

¹ T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, 1950, p. 11, cf. V. Jagannadham, *Social Insurance in India*, Amsterdam, International Educational Publishing House Ltd., 1954, p. 2.

² Under the Social insurance approach, the social security programmes are financed largely out of contributions collected in respect of beneficiaries—from beneficiaries and their employers. In Social assistance approach, the benefit programmes are, however, financed entirely out of general revenues of the state. In the provision of Social assistance a 'means test' is, therefore, applied. But as the ILO observes, the only criterion which enables one to distinguish the two modes of risk bearing 'is the presence or absence of the requirement, as a condition for the grant of benefit, that contribution should have been paid, by the prospective beneficiary, of in his name, into the fund which supplies the benefit' vide ILO, *Approaches to Social Security*, Montreal, International Labour Office, 1944, p. 82.

³ *First Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commission, pp. 8, 12.

an efficient service delivery system, crucial for promotion of social insurance measures. An attempt is made in this paper to study this aspect, with reference to the premier social insurance programme of India, viz., the one envisaged under the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948. Besides others, the factor prompting the choice is the claim made by some that the Scheme represents a unique experiment in the field of Centre-State relations.⁵

Administrative devolution in public organisations, it is generally recognised, is determined by a maze of ineluctably linked-up factors. These include besides the constitutional structure, the nature of service involved, the general relationship between people and the government, structure of the political parties, government's authority over socio-economic institutions, role of voluntary organisation, etc.⁶ But the preeminent influence of the constitutional specifications of 'responsibility zones' of various levels of government on the devolution process could hardly be contested. This is particularly so in respect of social insurance administrations which have to continuously strive at a delicate balance between the needs of uniformity on one hand and the claims for decentralised decision making on the other. The social insurance approach is based on the principle of pooling of risks and resources. The actuarial considerations involved would generally suggest an ever broadening of the coverage, both in respect of population (clients) and the risks insured.⁷ A sequel of this is the higher level governments assuming an increasingly dominant role in the administration. As one of the ILO publications points out, the leading tendency in the social insurance organisations world over is towards centralisation.⁸ Two other factors also seem to be adding momentum to this centralisation tendency. First is the generally found need for inter-sectoral subsidisation for augmenting social insurance finances, which only the higher level government with necessary fiscal powers could accomplish. The second is the need to tune up the premium and benefit levels to suit the broader regional or national socio-economic planning objectives. Naturally the policies in this regard could be enunciated only by the higher level governments.

As against the centralisation tendencies, the consideration to be weighed against is the expectations from the social insurance as a social service. A social service, generally defined, is the service provided by the state to improve welfare of the individuals. The ascent on ascertaining the needs of the individuals and gearing the services to meet those needs, is to be

⁵V.M. Albuquerque, "Social Insurance Administration in India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. II, No. 2, April-June, 1956, p. 160.

⁶United Nations, Technical Assistance Programme, *Decentralisation for National and Local Development*, New York, United Nations, 1962, p. 9.

⁷Eveline H. Burns, *Social Security and Public Policy*, New York, McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956, pp. 252-55.

⁸ILO, *Approaches to Social Security*, op. cit., p. 29.

particularly noted.⁹ "To distinguish social service from public services and utilities, this element of individual welfare is always stressed."¹⁰ For this to be facilitated, it is imperative that the decision making apparatus should be as close to clients as possible. "This is important not only in the interest of speedy service to clients but also to ensure that, wherever possible, programme operation and development may reflect the diversity of local conditions and that the average citizen may feel less remote from, and impotent in regard to, the agency administering the social insurance in which he is interested."¹¹ All administrative adroitness would be put to test in devising the appropriate equilibrium of the above centripetal and centrifugal forces, consistent of course with the environment in which the organisation concerned has to function. The latter, as already stated, includes the constitutional position also. Incidentally it may be stated, that despite variations in the constitutional set-up there are few social security administrations which are run by monolithic and centralised agencies.¹² Even in unitary countries, such as Sweden, the local authorities have been involved in several phases of the administration of social security. Similar is the case with United Kingdom. Though it has a highly centralised income security programme, the local authorities there have significant responsibility towards various allied activities. Under the Employees' State Insurance Act also, a number of provisions were incorporated, apparently with an object to ensure proper administrative devolution. An autonomous corporation, with a tripartite governing council at the apex¹³ has been entrusted with the overall charge of the scheme. The Corporation has, besides the headquarters set up in Delhi, a wide network of regional offices at different state headquarters and service units at the field level. The state governments are associated with the Scheme with full responsibility entrusted in respect of the medical care portion of the benefits programme.¹⁴ The corporation arrangement, it appears from Prof. Adarkar's Report, emerged primarily on the consideration that it will help to steer clear Centre-State tangles that might arise, if the Scheme was to run as a departmental set-up under a Central Ministry.¹⁵ From the inception

⁹Walter A. Friedlander, *Introduction to Social Welfare*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, Inc, 1961, p.200.

¹⁰Muriel Brown, *Introduction in Social Administration in Britain*, London, Hutchinson, 1969, p. 11.

¹¹Eveline M. Burns, *op. cit.* p. 256.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

¹³*Employees' State Insurance Act*, Chapter II, Sections 3 to 15.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, state of governments have a major representation in the council, 29 out of 44 members. Representation of other parties are central government 5, employers 5; employees 5; medical profession 2; members of the parliament 3, and *ex officio* member secretary is the Director-General (chief executive of the Corporation, Section 57 and 96.

¹⁵B.P. Adarkar, *Report on Health Insurance for Industrial Workers*, Simla, Manager, Government of India Press, 1944, pp. 70-71.

of the scheme, the parties involved have been continuously striving to promote coordination among their respective functional areas. Notable among this, is the initiative taken by the Corporation in the early 1950s to constitute a decentralisation committee and adopting on its advice, a number of steps towards administrative devolution¹⁶ In the following the scope of discussions, however, is limited to the statutory provisions having a bearing on the Corporation and state government relationships and the innovations brought over years in their implementation. Before we take up that, a brief outline on the benefit programme under the Scheme, may be given.

OUTLINE OF THE ESI SCHEME

The Scheme, to start with, covered the employees of perennial factories using power and engaging twenty or more workers. Subsequently (from March 1975) the coverage extended to include the employees from the smaller factories employing 10-12 workers and using power, from factories not using power but engaging 20 or more persons, and employees of shops, cinemas, theatres, restaurants, hotels, motor transport and newspaper establishments. The maximum income limit for inclusion of an employee under the scheme at present is Rs. 1,000 p.m. Employees of seasonal factories, and those belonging to railway and defence department establishments, however, are exempted from the purview of the Act.¹⁷

The benefit programme includes five major cash benefits—compensation of income loss in the event of sickness, maternity, disablement and pension to the dependents of the insured person in the event of his death due to employment injury and a lumpsum payment not exceeding Rs. 100 towards funeral expenses of a deceased insured person. In addition to the above, medical care including free supply of medicines, hospitalisation is provided to the insured persons and their family members.

The Scheme is largely financed out of contributions realised from the insured persons and their employers. The state governments also share the financial burden by way of meeting a part of the costs of the medical care in their respective jurisdictions.

Extension of Coverage

Under Section 1(5) of the ESI Act, the concerned state government is the designated authority to decide about the areas to be brought under

¹⁶Summary of the Important Decisions of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation and Standing Committee up to August 1957, New Delhi, Employees' State Insurance Corporation, 1957, p. 66.

¹⁷Sections 1(4) and 2(12) of the ESI Act, 1948.

the coverage of the Scheme, phasing of coverage, etc. Yet another section, viz., 75, empowers the state governments to create Employees' State Insurance Courts which could play significant role in the extension process by helping to sort out legal disputes over: (1) insurability, (2) liability to pay contributions, and (3) claim for benefits under the scheme. Notwithstanding all these, the cooperation that would be generally required from various state departments, like Factory Inspectorate for location of insurable establishments, health department for setting up dispensaries, etc., in the schemes' extension process is indicated in a Chart attached. In an actual working, however, it is generally observed, that the state governments have not envisaged the expected level of enthusiasm in extending the coverage under the scheme. High hopes were entertained in the beginning, that all major industrial centres would be brought under the purview of the Scheme in a span of five years or so.¹⁸ But it took nearly two decades to achieve that level of coverage. The state governments, particularly those of West Bengal and Maharashtra who between themselves accounted for nearly two-thirds of insurable industrial workers in the country, expressed serious reservations, stating that their financial and other resources would not permit them to bear the heavy commitments on account of the Scheme.¹⁹ The state governments' resistance was finally overcome, by Corporation agreeing to bear three-fourths (instead of two-thirds as originally planned) of the medical care expenditure under the Scheme. When it was decided to extend the medical benefit to the family members of the insured, the corporation: state government share ratio has been further liberalised to 7:1.²⁰ In addition, the Corporation had also agreed to bear the additional expenditure that may have to be incurred, in the form of special allowance, to attract state medical officers to serve at the Scheme's dispensaries and hospitals. The functioning of the E.I. Courts in facilitating speedy settlement of disputes over extension, has also come under severe criticism. It is observed, that over years the number of cases involving disputes over insurability and liability to pay contributions (and recovery of dues) are steeply increasing and the settlement process could hardly keep pace with it. Matters like these lead the ESIS Review Committee to comment that "the delay in the progress of implementation appears to be largely due to lack of sufficient enthusiasm on the part of some of the state governments."²¹ This criticism on the role played by the state governments cannot be easily dismissed. At the same time, it may not be fair to throw the entire blame for the slow pace of implementation on the state governments alone. In fact the first serious resistance to the implementation of

¹⁸ *Report of the Employees' State Insurance Scheme Review Committee*, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation, 1966, p. 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁰ *Annual Report of Employees' State Insurance Corporation, 1958-59*, p. 3.

²¹ *ESIS Review Committee, op. cit.*, p. 27.

the Scheme came from the employers in the areas selected for implementation. Their objection that their paying ESI contributions at the scheduled rates would put them at a disadvantageous position over their competitors in the non-implemented areas, was found to be a reasonable, and the statute was accordingly amended to introduce the Employers' special contribution provision to overcome the employers' objection. The Employees' organisations also (particularly those of Gujarat) successfully put spokes in the implementation process, till their demand for simultaneous extension of medical care to their families has been conceded.²² As regards the criticism about the inability of E.I. Courts to deal with growing legal disputes and thus help to speed-up the implementation process, it appears that the delays are mainly on account of the peculiar procedures recommended to be adopted.²³ Incidentally it may be stated that the draft rules in this regard were framed by the ESI Corporation itself. As regards the role played by the Corporation in the extension process, it is also observed to be wanting in many respects. The position is aptly summarised by the following comment of the Estimates Committee. Had the Corporation as a central authority consisting of representatives of all 'interest including state governments, played its proper role in taking timely initiative, effective planning and periodic appraisal of performance, the state governments' preparedness to implement the scheme would have been forthcoming and the results would have been much better.²⁴ The committee has also expressed the view that the government of India, at their own level did not make any effort to see that the state governments envisaged more interest in the implementation of the Scheme and cooperated with the Corporation in right earnest.²⁵ In the light of these comments, as well as the specific recommendation of the Perspective Planning Committee appointed by the Corporation²⁶ to make suggestions for future programming under the Scheme, a Planning and Development Division headed by a Director has been created in the Corporation to coordinate the work of all agencies involved in the extension process under the scheme.

Cash Benefit Administration

Apart from the E.I. Courts, there is one more major contact areas

²²*ESIS Review Committee, op. cit.*, p. 29.

²³Some of these are critically commented upon in Ralph F. Fuchs and V. Jagannadham "Claims Determination and Hearing Procedures under Employees" State Insurance Act, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1963.

²⁴Estimates Committee (Fourth Lok Sabha), *Report on Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation 23 Report*, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1970, p. 71.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Report of the Committee on Perspective Planning 1972*, New Delhi, Employees' State Insurance Corporation 1972, p. 17.

between Corporation's field agencies and those of the state governments. It is in the matter of controlling the malingering and thus minimising the abuse of cash benefits facility under the Scheme. The sickness and disablement cash benefits under the Scheme are payable on the strength of the incapacity certification issued to the insured by the Medical Officers attending them. In order to check a possible lax certification resulting in excess expenditure under the cash benefits, the Act has a provision in Section 58(2) to the effect, that the state government would be liable to bear the excess of sickness cash benefit expenditure in their respective jurisdictions over and above the all India average in the year of the account. In addition, an administrative arrangement is in vogue to check malingering phenomenon in the form incapacity references. Under this arrangement a second opinion on incapacity certificates issued to the insured, is obtained from Medical Referees who are in the Corporation's own service. In actual practice, it has been found that long time gaps usually occur between the reference time and the actual conducting of the examination by the Corporation's Medical Referee. This gives ample scope for a malingerer to continue to abuse the benefit provisions. These delays, it is observed, are largely contributed by the cumbersome procedures in making the incapacity references. A welcome reform now being progressively adopted in above regard is, the appointment of senior medical officer in the service of state government concerned (from institutions other than those under the Scheme) as Part-time Medical Referees. This step besides helping to cut down considerably the delays in conducting of the required verifications, has also found to be very economical. The state governments also stand to gain from this new development to the extent that their liability under Section 58(2) is reduced.

Medical Benefit Administration

Section 57 of the Act, states that the nature and scope of the medical service available to the insured under the scheme will be determined by the concerned state government, in consultation with the Corporation. But according to Section 96(e), the final decision in the matter, *i.e.*, the range and level of services, etc., vest entirely with the state governments. The Corporation can, however, through formal agreement, get an assurance from the state governments about the standard of medical care, including provision of buildings, equipment, medicines, staff, etc.

At the start of the Scheme, the scope of the medical benefit has been confined to the palliative aspects of health care to the insured workers. One of the reasons for this could be that in Prof. Adarkar's scheme, on the basis of which the ESI Act was largely framed, medical care has been assigned the role of a supporting services to the income maintenance programme.²⁷ But in due course, a welfare orientation is given to the Scheme's

benefits programme. In the revised set of priorities the medical benefit has been given prominence. As a consequence two major shifts have taken place. The first is the recognition of the family as the unit for provision of health care. The second is the incorporation within its scope, of the preventive and rehabilitative aspects of health care, along with the original palliative aspects. Full credit for this should go to the state governments, for the foresightedness displayed and also to the Corporation for helping this reform to come through, with liberal financial policies. The Corporation has, as already been stated, agreed to share an increased financial burden on medical benefit under the Scheme. Besides, it made significant contributions to improve the service facility in two other aspects, viz., augmentation of hospital beds and supply of medicines.

Hospitalisations

The Corporation has shown remarkable degree of imagination and initiative, in its resolution of October 1954, in agreeing to advance funds to the state governments for hospital construction under the Scheme. It is common knowledge that there is a great dearth of hospital beds in the country. The offer of the Corporation has come as a great relief to the state governments, who are otherwise statutorily responsible to provide that facility. The Corporation also cannot think of a better investment of its surplus reserve funds. As one of the Annual Reports of the Corporation rightly put it, the investment of excess funds in hospitals constitute a 'guilt-edged investment'²⁸ for it ensures better treatment facilities, greater satisfaction to the insured thus helping to create goodwill towards the Scheme.

In the actual implementation of the above policy, the Corporation, however, has been found to be at times very conservative and wavering. To start with, the Corporation's emphasis is on augmentation of beds in the existing state hospitals, through construction of annexes, etc., for ESI use. But later the Corporation has shifted its preference for construction of separate hospitals under the Scheme. The guidelines issued in this connection are, that separate hospital should be constructed for exclusive use under the scheme where according to the approved yardstick, the beds required are 100 or more. It was further specifically stated, that no construction should be undertaken, where the required number of beds is less than 10. But the yardstick on the basis of which the bed strength is to be determined is itself subject to change. Originally it is one general bed per 800 insured workers; one maternity bed per 500 insured women and one tuberculosis bed per 1,600 insured persons.²⁹ Consequent on the decision

²⁸ *Annual Report of the ESI Corporation 1960-61*, p. 4.

²⁹ *Summary of the Important Decisions of the ESI Corporation and its Standing Committee up to 15th August 1957*, op. cit., p. 36.

to extend the medical care facility to the family members of the insured, a liberal yardstick of 11 beds (all types) per 1,000 insured persons unit has been suggested.³⁰ But in the year 1969, faced with a serious financial crisis, the Corporation drastically reduced the yardstick from 11 to 4 beds per 1,000 insured person units.³¹ An interesting situation resulted as a sequel. States which had shown initiative, found themselves with beds in excess of the revised standards, while in others, the number of beds constructed were much below. Besides the regional imbalances, hospitals have been constructed at various places with bed capacity much in excess of the actual requirements of the population there.³² Attempts were made subsequently to salvage the position. The need for those operations might not perhaps have arisen, had some perspective planning exercises been carried out in respect of each industrial agglomerations about their hospital bed requirements earlier, instead of placing heavy reliance on the rule of thumb type of guidelines.

Arrangements for Supply of Medicines

Medical care under the scheme, includes free supply of medicines prescribed to the insured. The administration, therefore, has a major responsibility for making readily available the medicines, etc., required for treatment of the insured at the dispensaries and hospitals. Besides the therapeutic urgency usually associated with sickness, the problems become difficult in ESI administration, because most of the insured workers are poor and are not in a position to purchase medicines in advance in anticipation of reimbursement later. Under the circumstances, the patients are likely to be more sensitive even to a small administrative lapse in supplies management.

Arrangements for procurement of medicines under the Scheme are under experimentation, particularly since 1969. Before 1969, ESI medical institutions used to follow their respective state medical codes like rest of state government medical institutions, for procuring their requirement of medicines, etc. In most states, the chief source of supply was the Medical Stores Depot Organisation (MSD) of Government of India. Complaints used to be common that supplies are irregular and not always in full indented quantity. Sensing the growing dissatisfaction about the Scheme among the insured on above account, the Corporation decided to make an intervention in the matter in 1969. It initiated steps for introduction of a unified system for purchase of drugs.³³ A standard pharmacopia

³⁰ *Annual Report of the ESI Corporation 1963-64*, p. 40.

³¹ *Report of the Perspective Planning, ESI Corporation, op. cit.*, p. 30.

³² Estimates Committee (Fourth Lok Sabha), *123 Report. op. cit.*, p. 165. In Kanpur a maternity hospital was constructed with a strength of 144 beds. It was commissioned with only 20 beds. In the period July 1969 to September 1969 only 10 patients were given admission for in-door treatment *ibid.*

³³ *Annual Report of the ESI Corporation 1969-70*, p. 17.

under the Scheme has accordingly been adopted to facilitate that system. In the same year a centralised rate contract was entered into with reputed drug manufacturing concerns for supply of medicine to the ESI institutions. Subsequently in June 1975,³⁴ a scheme of 'Fixed Quantity Running Rate Contract System' was initiated in respect of some specified drugs. These steps, it is generally reported, helped to improve the medicines supply position considerably. But the success of a centralised fixed quantity running rate contract would depend on the type of exercises that are carried out in respect of pooling of requirements of individual institutions, phasing of supplies, etc. It is, doubtful to what extent the Corporation can enlarge its responsibility in this regard. For the requirements of various institutions in different regions not only vary, variety-wise, but also the number of medicines to be procured would run into a few hundreds. Therefore, it is suggested, that the corporation should adopt a highly selective control approach in the matter and concentrate its intervention only in respect of those medicines that are of vital importance (cost-wise and use-wise).

Despite the encouraging policies pursued by the Corporation, some of the state governments lagged far behind the others in extending the scope of the medical care services. The inter-state variations in the level of medical care available can be observed from Table at p. 48.

With an intention to close the widening gap in the inter-state positions and also apparently to streamline its own future financial commitments, the Corporation has introduced an entirely new dimension in its relations with the state governments vis-a-vis medical benefit administration. A ceiling on per capita expenditure on medical care has been imposed since 1969.³⁵ The arguments advanced in this connection are that in integrated scheme like ESI, it would be an invidious distinction, if some states were to spend disproportionately higher amounts on medical care than others and that it would be desirable that the share of the Corporation on the cost of medical care in per capita terms should be uniform. It is further argued, that if any state government desires to show greater enterprise, it is still free to do so, by meeting the additional expenditure from its own sources. The ceiling is, of course, subject to periodic upward revisions. The rates effective from April 1, 1979³⁶ are as under:

- (i) Restricted Medical Care : Rs. 70 per annum per employee
- (ii) Expanded Medical Care : Rs. 85 per annum per employee
- (iii) Full Medical Care : Rs. 115 per annum per employee

³⁴Corporation's Letter No. U-12-2-112/75 MI dated June 13, 1975 to the state governments.

³⁵*Annual Report of the ESI Corporation, 1969-70*, p. 26.

³⁶*Annual Report of the ESI Corporation, 1979-80*, pp. 33-34.

TYPE OF MEDICAL CARE TO FAMILIES (EMPLOYEES)
UNITS AS ON 31.3.1979

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of the States</i>	<i>Restricted Care*</i> 31.3.1979	<i>Extended Care†</i> 31.3.1979	<i>Full Care‡</i> 31.3.1979
1.	Andhra Pradesh	—	.7	234.3
2.	Assam	—	—	29.0
3.	Bihar	—	85.7	39.3
4.	Chandigarh	—	14.0	—
5.	Delhi	—	—	245.0
6.	Gujarat	—	145.0	390.0
7.	Haryana	—	—	176.0
8.	Himachal Pradesh	—	.9	—
9.	Karnataka	—	69.0	217.0
10.	Kerala	—	—	307.0
11.	Madhya Pradesh	—	2.1	167.9
12.	Maharashtra:			
	(i) Bombay Area and Goa	—	—	1165.0
	(ii) Nagpur Area	—	35.0	35.0
	(iii) Poona Area	—	54.0	181.0
13.	Orissa	—	—	92.0
14.	Pondicherry	—	—	15.0
15.	Punjab	—	—	156.0
16.	Rajasthan	—	—	115.0
17.	Tamil Nadu	—	125.3	319.7
18.	Uttar Pradesh	240.0	—	195.0
19.	West Bengal	—	595.0	370.0
TOTAL		240.0	1126.7	4449.2

**Restricted Medical Care:* Family members of the insured workers are provided only out-patient care at the general practitioners level.

†*Extended Medical Care:* Family members of the insured workers are provided consultation services of the specialists,

‡*Full Medical Care:* Family members of the insured are entitled for the same level of medical care as provided to the insured workers including the in-patient treatment.

SOURCE: Annual Report of the ESI Corporation, 1979-80.

The new angle has come as a stumbling block in state governments taking initiative in pursuing the course of liberal interpretation of the scope of medical care, encouraged till then under the Scheme. On the other hand, the arguments advanced in support of the ceiling cannot also be dismissed easily. The only hope seem to lie in the Corporation encouraging, in due course, long run plan exercises in the field of medical benefit with the cooperation of the state governments concerned, and helping to bring about improvements accordingly.

From the foregoing account, it is apparent that interrelationships involved under the Scheme between the Corporation and the state governments are complex in nature. It is agreed that in the beginning years, some of the state governments have not shown the expected level of enthusiasm. This led some to believe that things might have got a smoother sailing, had the Corporation retained with itself complete responsibility in respect of medical benefit portion of the programme also. This in our view, is not based on a full appreciation of the various factors involved.³⁷ The strains in the Corporation and state government relationships are not so formidable as not to be overcome through negotiations. A hind view of the progress made under the Scheme clearly suggests that both the parties have displayed remarkable understanding of each other's constraints and cooperated with each other well, whether it is in the matter of extending the coverage to the new areas or in liberal interpretation of the benefit provisions under the Scheme. Fortunately both the Mudaliar Committee (1960)³⁸ and the ESIS Review Committee (1966)³⁹ have not envisaged any radical reorganisation of the existing arrangements in respect of benefits administration. There is an increasing appreciation among the state governments about the new vistas open in the form of ESI scheme. The insured under the scheme, though numerically not a large number, constitute a very vocal section of the population and the provision of medical care to them is also the constitutional responsibility of the state government. The Scheme has helped to affect considerable savings to states' exchequers on the above account. The Corporation is also stand to gain from this phenomenon by affecting further administrative devolution. In this connection it may be pointed out that the decentralisation committee of the Corporation referred to earlier, suggested that the regional boards be vested with financial and administrative powers.⁴⁰ This suggestion was subsequently endorsed also by the Mudaliar Committee and the ESIS Review Committee.⁴¹ The regional boards, are tripartite council on the same pattern as the one at the national one, but unlike the latter, they are at present purely advisory bodies. The hesitation for taking appropriate steps like the amendment of the Act, etc., in the above connection in the early years of the Scheme, may have some justifica-

³⁷It may be pointed that the Medical Care administration under the Scheme in the union territory of Delhi, has been under the Corporation's direct charge since 1958, but the progress made in extending the scope of the medical has been much slower than achieved in some of the states.

³⁸A.L. Mudaliar, *Report on the Employees' State Insurance Corporation*, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1960, p. 35.

³⁹ESIS Review Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴⁰Summary of the Important Decision of the ESI Corporation and its Standing Committee up to 15th August, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴¹A.L. Mudaliar, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; 2. Report of the ESIS Review Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-163.

tion, but it would no longer be so, with all the experience gained during the last two and a half decades of the Scheme's implementation. In conclusion, a statement from the Mudaliar Committee be quoted. It reads: "While the broad principles governing the administration of the (ESI) Act must be those which are arrived at in consultaion with the states by the Corporation, in actual implementation, the states must share a greater amount of responsibility and must take a greater amount of interest. It is impossible for this Act to be administered unless the States' responsibility is realised and full cooperation is obtained from the States".⁴² □

⁴²*Report of the ESIS Review Committee, op. cit.*, P. 35.

*Correctional Administration in India—Research Trends and Priorities**

K.S. Shukla

INDIVIDUALS and groups have always reacted differentially towards violation of social and legal norms. The study of available records indicates that there has been no constant desire to make all deviants suffer and that the system used for inflicting suffering on the deviants, considered as deserving suffering, has changed from time to time and place to place. Moreover, the history of societal reaction has been directly influenced by the nature and organisation of the society, history and development of criminological thought and criminal responsibility. The reaction, therefore, has been consistent with the cultural patterns of a social system and with the status of the man at the point of time in the social structure. It has changed shape and dimension over a period of time following change in the social structure. With the change in the status of man, the patterns of reaction, operating on individual or the composite sentiment level, have also transformed. However, there had always been the possibility of societal sentiments being camouflaged by some persons depending upon their status, their capacity to articulate their arguments, their cultural background or group support to them. It continues to hold today and there is a likelihood of an ambiguity created between precepts and practices. Nevertheless such a situation is operational only in some cases. In general, since the evolution of the concept of the state, the societal sentiments have been expressed more on an objective frame.

The reaction against transgression of norms in the stone age was an individual's responsibility. He was given liberty to take revenge as per his will. With the evolution of group pattern of living, the reaction took the shape of revenge from one group to another or vice-versa. In the

*The author is grateful to Prof. Ram Ahuja, S.L. Sharma and R.K. Verma for their suggestions and Shri K.C. Gupta for assistance.

following years, with the emergence of the concept of social organisation, the notion of punishment was introduced in the realm of penology. Consequently, the right of revenge was taken away from individual/group and it was given to social system. The undercurrent in the man's psyche of taking revenge was modified into retribution and this was exercised by the state. Over years, as a result of humanitarianism, the objectives of punishment have shifted from vengeance, retribution, intimidation, transportation, deterrence, incapacitation to social solidarity, expiation, reparation and compensation and reformation.

There are different schools of thought on the objectives of punishment. In the beginning of the century, the writings on the objective of punishment were invariably based on speculation than on assessment of opinion of the social system. Neither biographical/autobiographical nor systematic research material of early periods on these aspects is available. The experiences of convicts of that period are also not available. Therefore, many essential aspects of their lives that could have served as pointers or useful comparative material or a guide is missing. This is a significant gap both from the penological perspective as well as from the criminological angle. There is every possibility that the case records of criminals of that period would have thrown light on different social processes operating in the phenomenon of deviance, like: the pressures towards deviance, dynamics of crime, linkage between the criminals and other members of the society, nature and pattern of rationalisations of deviants, and sources that facilitated the phenomenon of persistence. It would have been useful and interesting to learn as to whether there were actual variations in the type, mode and the nature of offences in the background of age, sex, region, religion, caste, season, month, time or moon position. This information would have helped in bringing about greater objectivity in expressing reactions towards violation of norms. This, in turn, would have left little scope for personal biases or prejudices in the award of sentences. In addition, an analysis of the reactions of convicted criminals as well as those of the out-casts over years would have proved to be useful from many angles.

No account of deviants, in the early periods of history, is available because a criminals, most probably, used to go down so low in human estimation that neither individuals nor the system found it appropriate to codify their views, and their qualities, and their characteristics were completely overlooked. May be this situation reflects the cultural configuration of that period. It is hoped that our generation would not allow such a gap through omission, hence it would be appropriate to record the existing social realities regarding criminals and their handling.

With a view to systematise research efforts in the future, some of the areas of research in different spheres of correctional administration have been identified and discussed in this paper. In addition, another

important aspect in the rehabilitation of offenders, *i.e.*, social stigma and ways to remove it, has also been discussed in this paper.

There are a number of studies/reports, analysing the institutional dimensions of punishment, available after the thirties of this century. Since the thirties to this year, more than hundred books/reports/articles were published in India on different aspects of correctional administration. The main areas covered by these studies are: prisoners; prison administration and programmes inside the prisons; impact of different types of institutional programmes; prison sub-culture; mural and extramural welfare measures; prison reforms; probation; aftercare programmes; forms of punishment and comparative studies on penology; comparative studies of institutional administration; correctional research, and follow up studies of released prisoners.

RESEARCH AREAS

Even in the present period the overall dimension of the societal reaction and its ramifications lacks scientific scrutiny and we continue to suffer from several handicaps on global level in general and on the level of our country in particular. The present day research studies in the field of correction seem to be influenced more by operational conveniences than a reflection of societal reaction. We do not find any overall or compartmentalised study of the reactions of the society. It is, therefore, not known whether the reactions operate on individual or on corporate level. If the reactions operate on individual's plane, the reasons for the success need to be recorded with the help of systematic studies; and, in case the reactions operate on corporate level, the nature of placement of different penal objectives in case of different offenders have to be analysed. A composite analysis of selected cases, based on each objective of reactions, would help in the determination of broadbased typologies. These, in turn, will facilitate evaluation of each and combined objectives of punishment as well as ensure greater efficacy and success of the objective of the punishment. Some new objectives not yet widely known to the society may emerge through such analysis. On the contrary, a survey of research studies in this area would indicate that the prison, probation, parole and aftercare systems have been placed to greater social scrutiny than other modes.

Prison Administration

Prisons existed in India in the earlier periods but the evolution of modern prison system dates back to 1836. Over years, a number of prisons have been established in this country. Since the third quarter of the nineteenth century, imprisonment turned out to be a principal mode of expression of societal reaction, although other extramural methods of handling deviants have also come up in the recent years. Over years, the prison

system has been confronted by different types of problems. These problems have been meticulously looked into by various committees and working groups. In addition, some studies on prisons have also been conducted by different scholars (Das Gupta, 1930; Sen, 1932; 1943; Tarapore, 1936; Barker, 1944; Kumarappa, 1949; Reckless, 1952; Bhattacharya, 1958; Haikerwal, 1961; Sangar, 1967; Vidya Bhushan, 1970; Srivastava, 1977; Datir, 1978, Singh, 1978; and Ahuja, 1979). As a result of these reports/studies, some modifications in the prison system are discernible, yet these modifications may not be in conformity with the expectations of the students of penology. Two important reasons for such a situation could be: (1) The committee reports may have very meticulously highlighted the administrative aspect of the functioning of prisons, but the human dimension of the prisoners has not been brought out with equal effectiveness. This is probably because the Committees were not supported by the working-groups looking into different dimensions of the functioning of prisons and the life of prisoners. (2) The studies, by scholars, no doubt have analysed different aspects of prisoner's life but they have failed to appreciate the nature of forces, pressures, constraints and limitations in which the administration operates. They, therefore, may not be able to present administrative nuances in their presentations. As a result of these factors, the reports may not adequately highlight the problems of prisoners from prisoners angle, and the studies have also not probed into the problems of administration. Therefore, there is a need to have an integrated study covering both the major aspects: prisoners and the prison administration. In addition, comparative studies of correctional administration indicating the positive and negative aspects of the administration would also be useful (Mukherjee, 1974).

Comparative studies of social—demographic—biological—psychological background of the prisoners before and after imprisonment would also be desirable. These researches may include in their perview such dimensions as status, characteristics, nature, temperament, qualities of leadership, inter-personal relations, industry, ingenuity/creativity, religious sentiments and community feelings, as existed before imprisonment and those which have developed later. These may shed light on the aspect(s) of change or modification—positive or negative—that has been brought about/registered in case of a prisoner.

In addition to studies covering the macro-dimension of the prison administration, there is a need for studies on micro level. The micro level efforts could be directed at: (1) Study of various dimensions of prison-organisation. These studies could be conducted by the students specialising in the study of organisation and organisational behaviour. (2) The issues confronting the prison-personnel-management, viz., recruitment, training, functioning, grievances and conflicts may be looked into by those specialising in personnel-management. (3) The classification of prisoners

dimension could be elaborately investigated by the students of penology. In addition to these, a student of penology could also undertake longitudinal or short-ranged studies on basic necessities in prison and their eventual influence on the prisoners.

The fringe benefits given to the prisoners in the last few years have become a subject of discussion. There are two major view points: (i) the policy-makers feel that provision of such things in prisons is fulfilment of humanitarian needs of the prisoners which would facilitate reformation. (ii) The onlookers view that the provisions of such amenities amount to a kind of pampering, that they are in contrast to the resources of a law abiding citizen in the society. They opine that these facilities may make prison life attractive. Both the view points may not be based on adequate understanding and appreciation of prisoners' ethos. Discussion of any duration/level may not be convincing, whereas the findings of a research study may carry greater reliability and acceptance in both the groups. Therefore, it would be useful to assess the impact of availability, guarantee and certainty of essential amenities like food, shelter, clothing, medical care, recreation, vocational training, education on a selected matched sample in a prison. It could also be studied as to which of the essential amenity(ies) has(ve) greater affinity to rehabilitation of prisoner, viz., the nature and level of medical and health services in the prisons and their impact on prisoners' psychology; prison discipline—implications and ramification; prison labour—areas of greater use of human potential and identifying the patterns of abuse; remission—impact and efficacy; prison education—quest and reality; leisure time activities—disinterest to involvement; sex in prisons—shades and forms; religious education—ritual to response; prison democracy—participation or exploitation; prison sub-culture—theoretical, hypothetical or existential; prison set up—dynamic or static; prison-leadership—operational network; homosexuality in prison—myth or a reality in case a reality then the nature and form of homosexuality as well modes of handling this issue. Prisoners ethos—myths and surmises; grievances of prisoners—traditional and emerging; prisoners rehabilitation—dilemmas and demands; prisoners welfare—precepts and practices and premature release—problems and prospects. Some modifications have been brought about in the mode and pattern of handling prisoners with a view to make prisons more effective. It would be worthwhile to analyse whether the then existing socio-political factors were given due weightage in introducing these modifications or were based on arm-chair recommendations. It needs to be evaluated as to whether that rationale has still any efficacy or needs to be modified in view of the changes in the social-system.

Each earlier indicated subject could be a fullfledged topic for micro-level studies and could be studied in an isolated manner or on a comparative basis in terms of prisons, prisoners, legislations, personnel, administration, societal attitudes and expectations. The sample may include various

types of inmates. The impact could be judged on various categories of criminals in terms of age, sex, duration and such other factors. The studies could include the institutional prisoners from central prisons, district prisons, sub jails, and special jails: like, institutions for adolescents, juveniles, women, and other such institutions functioning on national, state and local levels. Problems of each institutional as well as non-institutional practices could be studied systematically. These studies, in turn, might highlight the shortcomings of a part or the total correctional system on an overall level.

Not only research studies be conducted by the researchers but experiences of senior functionaries—retired or serving—of different types of institutions may be relevant indicators, which could be collected, collated, modified and codified. It is subsumed that with this exercise we will not only be able to identify the reasons for failures but we would be able to know as to which mode(s) could be used more appropriately as per cultural variations. Obviously such exercises will provide scope for optimum utilisation of resources and tightening societal efforts.

Some well designed studies have also to be undertaken regarding systematisation of records like registration, recording, maintenance and preservation. It is hoped that some formula(e) of systems-analysis could be applied to save human labour and improve the life of records.

Systematic investigations have also to be conducted to go into the legislative gaps in different legislations in terms of functional expectations and available machinery or instruments. Moreover the role-conflicts and constraints, emanating due to enactment of legislations pertaining to correctional administration, could be studied effectively. In such an endeavour, not only the legal experts would be helpful but experienced personnel and prisoners may also be a useful source of information.

The other areas that still have not attracted adequate attention of the scholars are correctional institutions for juveniles and youthful offenders, beginning from the handling of a deviant by the police, the juvenile court and other institutions which process a child from location and apprehension to rehabilitation. A scrutiny of the modes of handling would indicate the areas of modification at different levels. Parole, in the Indian context, has also remained a neglected subject. Prison architecture is also a prone area for study.

The impact of various rehabilitative measures on an overall or a particular level could be studied according to the typology of the offender, age, sex, region, religion, education, occupation and the family structure of prisoners.

Probation

Beneficiaries of non-institutional measures like open-prison (Balbir, 1963; Pawar, 1964; Saksena, 1967, 1970); Probation (Ahuja, 1972, 1979; Bansal,

1973; Shah, 1973, 1974); After-care (Nageswaran, 1940; Goel, 1941; Gore, 1956; Panakal and Dighe, 1961) and other community-centre-services have been studied but they could be studied on a comparative plane. Some dimensions of probation have already been put to enquiry by some scholars, yet many areas have still remained uncovered, which could be of interest to academics and administrators.

Probation system has assumed added significance after the revision of Criminal Procedure Code in 1973. It needs to be emphasised, without any value or emotional bias, as to whether this scheme has shown any progress, even with its handicaps and shortcomings, or has actually retrogressed. For adequate appreciation of its efficacy, objective evaluations are necessary. The priority areas of research in this field could be:

- Legislative gaps in probation legislation and forces and factors responsible for modification in probation legislation.
- A study on longitudinal level of the beneficiaries of probation according to their age, sex, occupation, education, socio-economic status and cultural status.
- The level of awareness, reaction and response of judicial officers towards probation.
- Factors influencing the total process of consideration of eligibility for probation.
- Pre-trial investigations—methodological precautions and implications.
- Role and utilisation of discretion by probation officers for the advantage of the probationer or the social system.
- Problems that confront an ex-probationer after the supervision period is over.
- Prediction studies on probation outcome.
- Regional differences in award, functioning, workload, and outcome of probation.
- Problems of probation organisation.

Each area could form an independent topic for study where focal concern could be on a specified aspect but, in an overall analysis, this concern should be integrated with the other or the total issues of probation system. Such studies, it is subsumed, would not only be valuable academic works but would have implicit guidelines for policy makers.

The studies may be initiated after an exploratory assessment of the views of the beneficiaries of probation, judicial officers who gave the benefit of probation; police; employers of probationers as well as those who were closely associated with probationers during or after the completion of probation period.

Correction to Prevention

Prevention of crime has been extensively discussed on layman, academic and administrative levels. However, there is considerable difference in the perception of this phrase by these persons. In a layman's expression, it accounts for total process involved in the handling of a delinquent, an administrator's interpretation is limited to control, and even the academicians may not place the expression in a proper perspective, because no analysis seems to have been undertaken regarding its placement in the process of handling deviants. Therefore, there is considerable ambiguity and misunderstanding in the usage of terminology as well in the commencement of phases of prevention. Prevention (Singh, 1954; Verma, 1954) cannot take place in the vacuum. To achieve the task of prevention, we must have considerable data regarding the phases that precede prevention. The experiences and data at the levels of correction, control, treatment and rehabilitation would facilitate the task of prevention as well as its effectiveness.

In case of any deviation on individual or institutional level—from the accepted practices on the cultural plane—the immediate reaction of those affected is of giving a warning, admonishing or a plea for deference, with a view to provide an erring individual guidance or an opportunity to correct his behaviour.

This method may have an adequate impact in some cases, while in the case of others, this palliative may not be effective, due to various reasons. Therefore, these deviants, under some one's protection or other reasons, may have an audacity to take part in deviance again—innocently or habitually. In such cases, the social system takes the assistance of another tool available with it, *i.e.*, control. However, due to congenital or later deficiency, or under the influence of an irresistible impulse or desire or under the pressure of situational factors, some persons may continue to participate in deviance. When one or more factors frustrate the efforts of the society to control a particular behaviour and there is recurrence of violative mode on the part of an individual, this person may require a long-term treatment.

Success at treatment level does not insure the process of rehabilitation. This step may require further planning of strategies to maximise the output of attempts at various stages to bring about rehabilitation of a deviant. It is hoped that through well planned research designs, the reasons of success or weak-links or failure of the earlier indicated processes would be elucidated. This effort will not only provide focus on overall reasons for failure, but also indicate the nature of institutional/administrative/personal forces/factors that accelerate or retard correction, control, treatment or rehabilitative efforts. Having been able to identify the modes that facilitate correction, control, treatment and rehabilitation, we would be on a firmer footing to plan strategies for prevention. Preventive strategies, based on

earlier evaluations, experiments and experiences will be more appropriate, than based on individual surmises or speculations. These exercises will not only help in planning about prevention but will provide guidelines to help us in locating the reasons of failure of each phase and its recurrence. In addition, we will also be able to locate those beneficiaries of the system (s) that may not be able to take an adequate advantage of societal efforts and modify their behaviour. Obviously such cases necessitate transfer from that method to more appropriate mode of handling. The transfer cannot be done by the functionaries of a particular institution, as they may not be trained to undertake optimum utilisation of available resources. If the guidelines in terms of manuals research studies are available, the functionaries may take advantage of these findings in running a particular institution or achieving the aims of rehabilitation of the offenders.

Wiping the Stigma

Official agencies step into the life of deviant with the avowed aim of helping him. Each intervention is supposed to play a definite social function. At the same time it attaches a label on the subject, a label which leads to social stigma. Each stage of intervention, location, apprehension, detention, prosecution, conviction and institutionalisation, leaves its own mark. Of these, the institutionalisation brings in the severest social stigma on the inmate.

One of the important objectives of sending a deviant to a correctional institution is to make him economically, socially and emotionally independent. Simultaneously it should provide him with opportunities to integrate his fractured ego. Therefore, it is subsumed that the institutions shall endeavour to give special emphasis on individual study; careful planning and training in treatment programmes to suit the needs of an individual inmate; education; work and vocational training; recreation and cultural activities; discipline; case work and group work activity; group guidance, individual guidance and counselling and character training (Tewari, 1962; Gokhale, Billimoria and Reuben, 1968; Reuben, 1973).

Emphasis in approach may differ from one institution to another but, in general, the rehabilitation of the convicted persons is one of the major objectives of these correctional institutions. In recent years this aspect has been further highlighted and emphasised in official policies. The policy formulations may not immediately bring about a change in the attitude of the institutional personnel, who directly deal with the inmates. Nor does it bring about a change in the outlook of the society at large, where an inmate has to ultimately go. At best an inmate is treated with an indifference; sometimes he is treated with an extreme dislike.

Attitudes change slowly and the negative attitudes which persist may do more harm to an inmate than the good that the institutions have been

able to achieve through training of various types. The indifferent or hostile behaviour of anyone affects the psyche of an inmate. The negative attitude of the society is reflected in the social stigma which is attached to the inmate of a correctional institution. This stigma starts playing a predominant role in his rehabilitation process.

In a broader sense rehabilitation is an expression of humanitarianism. However, this cannot be adequately appreciated by the masses who may continue to place greater emphasis on the social stigma than eventual rehabilitation of an inmate. Since a released offender has ultimately to interact with a wide variety of people, and has to spend most of his time with them, their reaction towards him becomes crucial. Vocational training, in particular, therefore, is of significance to an inmate.

Vocational training makes an inmate self-sufficient or reliant in a specified job, therefore, even if an ex-inmate plans to leave a particular locality to a distant place, to ward off his stigma, he is adequately equipped to handle the competitive spirit of a new place or an area.

Intensive vocational training which supports an individual in his economic struggle also facilitates his healthy personal development. General education should naturally be a part of integrated rehabilitation programme and go simultaneously with the vocational training, but the vocational training should be given a priority over other aspects of rehabilitation programme.

The results of an emphasis on specialised training are already visible in some institutions in India. Training in band, tailoring, barbering, scooter repairing, cane weaving, blacksmithy work and such other vocations, have already helped many released offenders in their rehabilitation. The emphasis on vocational training in the institutions will obviously bring modification in the mode of selection of trades to suit the intelligence, interest and aptitude of an inmate. It is expected that the trades of an institution would be in conformity with the demands of a modernised society. The better an inmate is equipped to fend for himself, the less will be his dependence on others for his rehabilitation.

Vocational training is not the answer to every problem of rehabilitation but it does help in making the individual more acceptable. A customer would be more interested in getting the job done skilfully than in peeping into the antecedents of the tradesman. Instance are numerous where we accept and long for assistance from those, whom we like least personally, but appreciate their expertise. The acceptability on the basis of craftsmanship will develop tolerance, which, in turn, will soften our attitudes towards ex-inmates and help in his rehabilitation.

In the recent years, considerable attention is being paid to vocational training. It is being emphasised that vocational expertise helps in wiping the stigma. Research studies are needed to identify the areas that facilitate greater rehabilitation, like: the role of the processors and agencies, the

vocations—dimensions and nature of vocations, the subjects' contribution and other relevant aspects that constitute and contribute towards rehabilitation. The expectations of the consumers could also be ascertained in order to achieve the ultimate objective of rehabilitation. The functional dimension(s) of the vocational training with a view to have an input of stronger functional aspects also needs to be probed. These researches may have useful policy implications.

Correctional programmes cater to the custody and care of a significant population of the society, yet they have not been given adequate attention in research studies as they deserved. Various social and psychological factors were responsible for continuance of this situation. Therefore, very important historical facts do not seem to have been codified and documented. However, over years, this situation has registered a significant change in the human psyche and methods. Various anomalies, ambiguities and gaps still persist, which needs to be studied in the perspective of existing social reality than based on the plane of value judgement. Priority areas need to be looked into on the basis of their significance.

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Disaster Management and Organisational Adaptation

C.V. Raghavulu

THE provision of rescue, relief and rehabilitation services to disaster victims has been an important concern of social administration since a long time. However, the emergence of disaster management as a field of study, combining the perspectives of social administration, economic management and organisation theory is of recent origin.¹ Disaster management covers a wide range of activities such as preparedness or advance planning, rescue, relief and rehabilitation. In the past, families, communities and voluntary organisations used to play a prominent role in the disbursement of relief to the affected population in India. Government's concern towards this problem goes back to the 1840s when its irrigation policy was announced. However, it took nearly four decades for the government to appoint a Famine Commission headed by Sir John Strachey (1880). It circulated a famine code to the then provincial governments embodying the principles and procedures of administering relief.² Two more Famine Commissions were appointed in 1898 and 1901. Organised effort on these lines was, however, conspicuous by its absence in the case of other natural disasters like cyclones, earthquakes and floods. Nevertheless, during the post-independence period the government's responsibility for providing relief and rehabilitation programmes to the people affected by all categories of natural disasters increased enormously.³

¹The term disaster may be defined as an unscheduled event, concentrated in time and space. By disrupting the social structure and the life support systems of a community, it calls for a drastic increase in demand for certain services. For a discussion see V.A. Hipe, "Towards a Definition of Crisis Administration: Some Sociological and Legal Notes on Administering a Community in Extremest", *The Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, Oct. 1975, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 257-63.

²Government of India, *Report of the Famine Commission*, 1880.

³In the USA the primary legal responsibility for rendering disaster relief rests with the Red Cross. In countries like Japan, Chile, El Salvador, Australia, and Italy, the military has been entrusted with the main responsibility for rescue and relief services.

Besides its legal responsibility, the welfare orientation of the state makes it imperative for the government to alleviate human suffering arising out of natural calamities or disasters. A further problem relates to the magnitude of government involvement. Although disasters are not a new phenomenon, the scale of their impact is much larger today than in the past. Population increases, expansion of area under cultivation, growth in the organised sector and, above all, the interdependence of the various sectors of the economy seem to contribute to this trend. What was once a mere 'welfare' issue has been emerging into a vital economic concern because of the frequency, intensity and cumulative and indirect losses from natural disasters.⁴ Drought, cyclones and floods are a recurring feature in India; while a third of the country's territory is subjected to inundation of water, another one-third suffers from famine. Cyclones occur on an average of four times a year. Human loss and dislocation to social life apart, the loss to the gross domestic product from such disasters is staggering.

Despite the magnitude of disaster-vulnerability the attention paid to administrative or organisational issues has been lagging far behind in this country.⁵ We lack sufficient knowledge about the individual or organisational behaviour during disasters. How do governmental administrative systems function or respond when communities are confronted by a sudden catastrophe? Knowledge about their response patterns would contribute to our understanding of changes in governmental organisations. Indeed, as tragedy is the test of character, so is crisis the test of capacity of an administration.⁶ Because of their concentration in time and space disasters such as cyclones, earthquakes and floods pose severe tests to the society's managerial resources. Disaster situations impose unprecedented demand loads on the organisation to adapt to environmental changes and to coordinate the activities of diverse groups that participate in a disaster-response system. The purpose of this paper is to describe and discuss the various facets of organisational adaptation in

⁴In the 20th century, nearly half-a-million persons died and 250 millions were injured or left homeless in India due to natural disasters. The figures are based on projections from UNDRO data for the period 1900-1976. See United Nations, *Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, Economic Aspects*, Vol. 7, Geneva, Office of the Disaster Relief Coordinator, 1979, pp. 56-7. The same source points to an inverse relationship between the level of development of a country and the extent of loss of human life.

⁵The problems cannot be seen in isolation from a society's or government's overall perspective towards disaster preparedness. As Col. G.N. Ritchie argues, lack of a corresponding expansion in disaster preparedness measures in the Third World countries seems to aggravate the problem. See his "Disaster and the Third World", *Third World Journal*, April 1979, Vol. 1, No. 2. Also see UN *Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, Economic Aspects*, Vol. 7, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10.

⁶F.M. Marx (ed.), *Elements of Public Administration*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1959, p. 21.

disaster situations. To this end, some of the earlier studies of disasters are being discussed first. Next, we turn to a description of the organisation for disaster prevention and mitigation. This will be followed by an analysis of material from the two Andhra cyclones (1977 and 1979). Some inferences and comparisons concerning organisational adaptation are attempted towards the end.

The few studies that we have on disaster situations lead to the generalisation that organisational adaptation is most prominent during the post-impact period. Warheit shows that the core disaster organisation would play an increased role in decisions affecting other organisations and the community.⁷ Thompson and Hawkes point out to an increase in the coping ability of organisations in a disaster situation.⁸ Hass and Drabek suggest that in a high stress situation organisations try to reduce the discrepancy between organisational demands and organisational capacity.⁹ Attempts to increase the organisational capacity are made through changes in the positions and connecting roles, inter-personal relations among organisational members and the resource structure—physical materials, space, information, the number of personnel and their skills. Quarantelli's cross-cultural studies point to several facets of the relationship between the organisation and the environment.¹⁰ According to him, societal norms determine the choice about the core disaster organisation, be it civilian administration, the military or a voluntary organisation. On the basis of his study of an Italian dam disaster, he suggests that the pre-impact political situation would have a strong effect on the post-disaster operations of the various organisations. Brouillette infers that the degree of adaptation in the organisation's structure during a disaster would depend upon the extent of physical damage, the organisation's state of disaster preparedness and the level of demand for services.¹¹ Anderson analyses the military's role in disasters. According to him, military organisations also try to adapt to the new expectations about their role without outwardly breaking the old expectations.¹² Studies of the administration of the Maharashtra drought (1971-1974) by Mathur and Bhatta-

⁷G.J. Warheit, "Fire Departments: Operations during Major Community Emergencies," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 13, No. 3, Jan-Feb. 1970, pp. 362-67.

⁸J.D. Thompson, and R.W. Hawkes, "Disaster Community Organisation and Administrative Process" in G.W. Baker and D. Chapman (eds.), *Man and Society in Disaster*, New York, Basic Books, 1962.

⁹J.E. Hass and T.E. Drabek, *Complex Organisations*, New York, MacMillan, 1973.

¹⁰E.L. Quarantelli, "The Vaient Dam Overflow: A Case Study of Extra-community Responses in Massive Disasters", *Disasters*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1979, pp. 199-212.

¹¹J.R. Brouillette, "The Department of Public Works: Adaptation to Disaster Demands", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 13, No. 3, Jan-Feb. 1970, pp. 369-79.

¹²W.A. Anderson, "Military Organisation in Natural Disaster", *American Behavioral Scientist*, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-22.

charya and Subramanian portray in great detail the flexibility and adaptive capabilities of the bureaucracy in response to environmental demands.¹³ The following pages present a description of the disaster organisation, relief and rehabilitation programmes and the nature of organisational adaptation.

FORMAL ORGANISATION FOR DISASTER MANAGEMENT

The structure of disaster administration concerning cyclones is the product of a multi-jurisdictional authority system. The Union Government's involvement in a cyclone initially stems from its primary control over the collection, interpretation and transmission of weather data to the public and to the relevant State and Union officials. The relief Commissioner (*ex officio* Additional Secretary of the Union Department of Agriculture) provides overall coordination among the various agencies concerned with disaster preparedness and mitigation. He presides over the Crop Weather Watch Review Committee of the Union Government which monitors weather data and other relevant information. Representatives of the various agencies of the Union Government connected with this subject are associated with it.¹⁴ The Union Government also provides substantial financial assistance to the states for relief and rehabilitation programmes.¹⁵ Provision exists for the military (the Army's rescue and medical units and the Air Force in particular) to render appropriate services on specific requests for aid from the concerned State Governments. The Union Home Ministry's Mobile Civil Emergency Force would also get into action to provide emergency rescue, medical services and drinking water facilities.

Even though the Union Government controls the early warning system and provides the bulk of financial assistance for disaster preparedness and mitigation, the responsibility for initiating precautionary measures rests with the State and local officials. Important decisions with respect to relief and rehabilitation are taken by the State Government. Historically, the Revenue Department has been responsible for disaster relief and rehabili-

¹³K. Mathur and M. Bhattacharya, *Administrative Response to Emergency: A Study of Scarcity Administration in Maharashtra*, Concept, Delhi, 1975 and V. Subramanian, *Parched Earth: The Maharashtra Drought 1970-73*, Orient Longman, 1975. The study of famine relief in Bihar did not look at the problem from an organisational perspective. See Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Cooperation, *Famine Relief in Bihar*, New Delhi, n.d.

¹⁴They include representatives from the ministries of Defence, Home, Education and Social Welfare, and Finance, Directorate General of Meteorology, etc.

¹⁵Financial assistance is provided by the Union Government on the basis of the assessment and recommendations of teams of Central Government Officers who visit the areas affected by a disaster. Such subventions are a major source of influence over the relief and rehabilitations programmes of the state governments.

tation programmes at the State level. The Commissioner for Cyclone Relief (*ex officio* Secretary, Revenue Department) coordinates policies, gives direction and guidance to relief operations and facilitates speedy action on all fronts. He acts as the Chief liaison between the State Government on the one hand and the Union Government, the Reserve Bank of India and other national or regional level agencies on the other. He would be assisted by a Deputy Secretary at the State headquarters.

At the district level the District Collector has the primary responsibility for managing, supervising and coordinating all activities from preparedness and evacuation to rescue, relief and rehabilitation. Treasury Rules framed during the British days confer virtually unlimited financial authority on the collector during emergencies like floods, cyclones, earthquakes, etc.¹⁶ The collector's financial authority commensurates with his responsibilities for the performance of various activities in this sphere. The district collector does not have any statutory or executive authority beyond this. Most of the time he has to bank upon influence which his role would acquire in such emergencies. Alternatively, he has to use the financial powers under the State financial code to generate programmes for departments directly or indirectly connected with the disaster. At the sub-divisional and taluk levels, the sub-collector/revenue divisional Officer and Tehsildar are responsible for initiating precautionary measures before a disaster and rescue and relief arrangements after the event. All these officers have to be guided by recommendations of the Cyclone Distress Mitigation Committee's Report.¹⁷

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES

The extent of preparedness as reflected in the numbers evacuated was somewhat limited in the 1977 Andhra cyclone. Experience of this disaster, however, enabled better preparedness for the 1979 cyclone.¹⁸ In both instances rescue and relief operations commenced at several points

¹⁶For instance, Treasury Rule 27 of the Andhra Pradesh State Financial Code gives virtually a blank cheque to the District Collector to draw money from the Treasury consistent with the requirements of the situation and subject to *ex post facto* approval by the Government and sanction by the State Legislature. Any Member of the Board of Revenue, deputed for this purpose has similar powers in Tamil Nadu. See Government of Tamil Nadu, *Anti-Disaster Plan*, Madras, Government Press, September 1978, pp. 22-25.

¹⁷Government of India, *Report of the Cyclone Distress Mitigation Committee*, New Delhi, Ministry of Irrigation & Power, 1971.

¹⁸Although official estimates place the number of persons evacuated at three lakhs, our estimates discount it by at least 50 per cent. Moreover, not a single person was evacuated from the interior villages which account for more than 90 per cent of the death toll.

within 24 hours after the event.¹⁹ The total governmental expenditure towards relief and rehabilitation totalled nearly Rs. 140 crores in both the disasters. In 1977, relief included a vast array of items: food, groceries, clothing, drinking water, medical and health care, cash assistance for housing (Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 per house) and loss of human lives (Rs. 1,000 per person in the family). Clearance of a large number of corpses and carcasses was a gigantic problem during the immediate aftermath of the 1977 disaster. To the worst affected population (numbering more than a lakh) food and groceries were supplied free for six weeks. The rehabilitation programmes included restoration of irrigation channels and drains, power lines and link roads; desalination of affected lands; supply of milch and farm animals and agricultural inputs; provision of housing materials; supply of boats, nets and yarn to fishermen; assistance to artisans towards equipment and tools. Some of the items of rehabilitation assistance to the victims were provided free and other items carried subsidy, ranging from 25 to 75 per cent. Government subsidy at the rate of 50 per cent (maximum Rs. 2,500) was provided to houses constructed by voluntary agencies. So far, two-thirds of the 17,874 houses planned for construction have been completed. In the 1979 operation, relief included supply of rice (10 to 20 kgs per family), clothing and cash assistance towards house damage or human loss. Loans along with 50 per cent subsidy for the reclamation of stand-cast lands and for repairs of tobacco barns, and repairs of irrigation tanks were the major rehabilitation programmes.²⁰

DISTRICT LEVEL ORGANISATION

The organisational strategy adopted for the conduct of relief and rehabilitation programmes tended to be quite flexible. A combination of territorial and functional principles guided the strategy. In some instances, the choice was left to the senior officers who were deputed to the field for managing the operations. In the temporary organisation that emerged at the district level, the Collector's role was pre-eminent. Not only did the collector become the nerve-centre of all operations, but also his role acquired unprecedented responsibility. Several officers of the rank of collector were deputed to the affected area. Considerations of status or

¹⁹The number of feeding centres was 199 in the districts affected by the 1977 cyclone.

²⁰For details see S.P. Cohen, and C.V. Raghavulu, *The Andhra Cyclone of 1977: Individual and Institutional Response to Mass Death*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1979, Ch. IV; J. Vengala Rao, *Statement on the Cyclone and Tidal Wave on 19th November, 1977*, Hyderabad, Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Director of Stationery & Printing, 1979; and Information & Public Relations Department, *Rescue of the Distressed in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1979.

seniority were ignored in some of these postings. For instance, IAS officers who were senior in rank to the incumbent collectors were deployed—or volunteered—to work under the respective collectors.

The deputation of a large number of IAS officers of the rank of collector or higher raised an important controversy in official circles. A few felt that the posting of such senior officers would add one more hierarchical layer to the structure of administration or would lead to conflicts in decision-making. One of the former district collectors expresses his views frankly on this issue:

The experience in Krishna and Guntur Districts proved that this apprehension was not based on realities. Once it was established that the District Collector was heading the relief administration, the other senior officers were given individual tasks and even in performing these individual tasks a number of spot decisions had to be taken and the presence of senior officers facilitated such decision making.²¹

The deputation of senior officers of the status of secretaries was a shrewd public relations measure; it was intended to create confidence among the public and the Government of India that important decisions could be taken on the spot. Further, the association of senior Secretariat officers with the district level decision-making apparatus was expected to bolster support among the senior Secretariat officers for some of the unconventional proposals or overcome restrictive legal requirements for securing ratification.

The affected areas were divided into zones, depending upon the intensity of the damage. The worst affected zones were usually entrusted to senior IAS officers specially chosen for their experience or competence. Supporting staff, numbering several hundreds, were brought from all over the State. Functions such as census or enumeration, procurement of supplies, removal of corpses and carcasses, personnel, transport communications, medical and public health, etc., were entrusted to senior officers.

The work relating to house-to-house enumeration of human loss and property damage as well as distribution of relief was entrusted to teams, consisting of a gazetted officer (team leader) and 3 to 4 other officials. Each team had the jurisdiction of 2 to 4 villages, depending up to the size and logistics. The services of teachers of private colleges and schools were utilised in this regard. The services of volunteers, including students (NSS, NCC, etc.) were also availed of in some contexts. Historically, the functions of identification of disaster victims and distribution of relief (food, clothing and cash) within the affected villages have been handled

²¹C.S. Rao, "The Cyclone and Administrative Response", in *Sorlagendi, op. cit.*

by the revenue department. The involvement of large numbers of non-revenue employees and non-governmental personnel demanded new work-relationships. Nonetheless, outsiders were absorbed into a relief organisation that presented itself with clearly defined roles, procedures and written specifications. Coordination and direction at each level were provided by the local revenue officials.

The organisation evolved standardised procedures for handling the various tasks.²² Printed forms were used for the receipt of donations and relief materials that poured into the affected area. Registers were maintained showing in detail the number and type of material received and the source and mode of transit, village-wise. Acquittance registers were maintained to record the disbursement of cash and relief materials along with the names and signatures of the beneficiaries and attestations by the village officers.

There was regular daily reporting and review of the activities of each of the segments of the relief organisation. At the district level, review meetings of the day's work and next day's plan of activities used to commence every night around 11 p.m. and last until 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. These meetings also served the purposes of coordination and problem-solving. Thus, among the senior officers coordination of organisational efforts was sought to be accomplished through an internal rule making process rather than through hierarchical authority. Relationships among the officers (both IAS and technical officers or specialists) were characterised by collegiality. The focus was on information-sharing, problem-solving and action-orientation.

Tolerance of inefficiency was extremely limited. During the peak relief work, officials had to put in 12 to 16 hours, the latter being the norm for seniors. Prompt action was initiated by the vigilance officers against officials found to be indulging in corrupt practices. In 1977, nearly 70 officers, including eight gazetted officers, were suspended for allegations of misappropriation of funds or other irregular and corrupt practices. Subsequently, the suspensions were revoked in most of the cases, as the charges were found to be flimsy or based on weak evidence. In 1979, allegations against employees were extremely limited (not more than six) and there was a prompt handling of such cases in order to build up public credibility in the relief machinery. The possibility for large-scale corruption was also limited by structural devices and accountability procedures. The composition of the teams was one such structural innovation. Certain categories of officials who earned notoriety for corrupt practices were teamed with personnel drawn from outside. The function of disbursement of relief was entrusted mainly to teams of college

²²Daily and Weekly information reports were sent from the district collector to the State Cyclone Relief Commissioner. For the weekly reports there was a regular proforma.

teachers in some of the affected zones. Besides, the deployment of additional manpower for relief work reduced the time taken for disbursement of relief.²³ The accountability procedures relating to stores and verification of stocks were tightened to prevent pilferage and unauthorised releases. Stores and godowns were kept under the charge of responsible officers who were to check the stocks regularly and certify the position in the godown registers daily.

Hierarchical and status relationships were also guarded carefully in the composition of teams and the choice of team leaders. The intention was to avoid inter-departmental friction or status-based conflicts and to facilitate smooth working relationships. The principle of unity of command, remained supreme at the district, sub-divisional and taluk levels. Officers of non-Revenue Departments had to function under the direction of the chiefs of the respective territorial divisions rather than under the control of their regular departmental superiors. There were a few significant differences between the patterns that were obtained at the top and bottom layers of the district bureaucracy. Consensual methods of decision-making were preferred at the higher levels. Roles were assigned to the senior civil servants on the basis of personal preference. Participation of employees down the ladder in decision-making was, however, highly restricted. Personal preferences about assignments were not conceded. There was some element of uniformity about conflict resolution throughout the organisation. In the event of a conflict, the decisions of hierarchical superiors were binding on the subordinates.

While standardisation of roles, procedures and relationships prevailed in some areas, the organisation manifested considerable flexibility in other spheres. At the State Secretariat level, referral and circulation procedures that are normally followed for decision-making were kept to the minimum; most of the decisions of an inter-departmental nature being taken at joint meetings of officers. In several instances, decisions were conveyed to the district level orally and government orders followed later. Formalisation in terms of written specifications was dispensed with in regard to a number of critical decisions at the district level. At the higher levels, there was little hesitation to depart from rules and routines considered sacred in normal times, in the interests of "getting on with the job". Interestingly enough, the district collectors had no statutory or legal authority for many things they did during the crisis situation. On oral instructions from the collector, stockists of rice were ordered to part with their stocks. The trucks of private transport operators were indented for relief work. Such

²³This operation used to take nearly three months when it was handled exclusively by the regular staff of the Revenue Department. In the aftermath of the Nellore Cyclone of 1976, the Collector of Nellore District introduced the practice of constituting teams and the deployment of non-Revenue personnel on a large scale for relief work. It has now become a standard practice.

indents were, of course, for payments to be made later. Yet, the regulatory powers assumed by the district collector in this regard had no legal sanction. Similarly, officers were asked to procure relief materials, medicines, etc., or enter into other financial commitments and contractual obligations before the issue of specific authorisations.

Another manifestation of organisational adaptation was reflected in the emergence of new structures or coalescing of old structures for the performance of new tasks. Consider the example of a new task like removal of corpses and carcasses. Conventionally, this function falls in the arena of social organisation, with the family or the community handling it. But there was a temporary disappearance of the social organisation in the immediate aftermath of the 1977 disaster.²⁴ The function of burial of corpses and carcasses was, therefore, thrust upon the State Government.²⁵ The Chief Minister took a bold decision to entrust the task to three different organisations—State Special Armed Police, the prisoners, and mining workers from a State-controlled public sector collieries. Besides, voluntary organisations like the Ananda Marg, the RSS, Sarvodaya workers and student groups were also seized with the job. The Superintendent of Police (regular) of Krishna District was entrusted with the overall responsibility for providing direction, administrative support and coordination of the efforts of the various governmental and non-Governmental groups engaged in the work of disposal of corpses and carcasses.²⁶ The new set-up signified a fundamental change in the task structure of the various governmental agencies concerned with this operation; they were to handle a function with which their pre-disaster organisational roles had no connection whatsoever. A new structure emerged with a corresponding set of roles and relationships, eroding the pre-disaster organisational boundaries.

The management of relief camps offered a similar instance of organisational adaptation aimed at securing considerable operational flexibility. Virtually, a blank cheque was given to the local revenue officials in-charge of the respective relief camps to spend money, procure relief materials and exercise discretion in determining the eligibility of beneficiaries. The exercise of authority in these matters amounted to control over decisions concerning the operating goals. The work structures of the relief camps also presented considerable variation largely due to the absorption of local volunteers—students, members of Mahila Mandals, party workers, etc.

The organisation modified some of its normal procedures concerning repair works to breached tanks and other irrigation sources. There was a

²⁴For details see Cohen and Raghavulu, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.

²⁵Nearly nine thousand corpses and one lakh carcasses which were in a bloated condition had to be disposed off.

²⁶The Superintendent of Police, in his turn, was functioning under the overall control and supervision of the District Collector.

sense of urgency in 1979, borne out of the approaching monsoon season before which repairs had to be completed. Enhanced powers had, therefore, been given to the chief engineers to incur expenditure. For works estimated at less than Rs. 10 lakhs the normal procedure of calling for tenders was dispensed with. Works were allotted on nomination basis at 10 per cent excess over the current scheduled rates. Where tenders were to be called with a short notice (of one week), the chief engineers were empowered to accept the tenders upto 25 per cent in excess over current scheduled rates. Liberalisation of such procedures was aimed at speedy restoration of irrigation sources. Relaxation of contract and tender procedures and enhancement of financial limits for sanctioning repairs to irrigation works was perhaps based on a mixture of political interests and administrative flexibility. The task itself was not novel, but the procedures were. The important thing to note was the variation—major departures—in the procedures applied to a regular task.

During normal times, each department tends to consider its own mission or what it is doing as critically important. The organisational pattern evolved at the district level during the post-cyclone period was in contrast to this trend. The extent of inter-organisational collaboration reflected in the post-impact operations has few parallels. Multiple-chains of command and decisional centres were subsumed by a single hierarchy headed by the district collector. There was limited scope for working at cross-purposes since the unity of command of the district collector was generally accepted as legitimate. Departments like Medical and Health Services, Public Works and Irrigation and Drainage had functioned during this period under the direction of the district collector. In normal times, these departments maintain only limited communication with the latter. Thus departmental boundaries or sub-unit identities got submerged in the pursuit of super-ordinate goals.

One special feature of inter-organisational cooperation was the prompt response of the Indian Banks Association and the Agricultural Finance Corporation. Joint teams of these agencies surveyed the damage from successive disasters and provided a set of policy and procedural alternatives for the banking sector.²⁷ As a result of their recommendations some alterations were introduced; these range from writing off of crop loans to rescheduling of loans to the customers of the affected regions. Generally speaking, the response from the commercial and cooperative banks was much less than what was expected of them. The normal procedures and written specifications used by them for processing loan applications remained intact although considerable speed was attained in processing cooperative loans. Additional

²⁷See the Reports of the AFC-IBA Teams for Survey of the Cyclone-affected areas in 1977 and 1979. It may be noted that many of their recommendations were not accepted by the Reserve Bank of India.

manpower was deployed for organising 'credit camps' in the affected villages. The organisation of credit camps was a new procedure aimed at speed in processing credit applications. Since the commercial banks and the Agricultural Development Banks were not under the control of the district collector collaboration was sought through close liaison and constant dialogue by the joint collector (Cyclone Relief) with these institutions. The device of credit camps facilitated coordination at the field level among the participating organisations. In the organisation of credit camps, close supervision was exercised. Thus, for upgrading its capability the disaster organisation relied upon a combination of policy and procedural innovations and the mechanisms of traditional control through intense supervision. It must be emphasised that despite such measures the extent of organisational adaptation in this sphere was not commensurate either with the magnitude of the task or the concern displayed by these institutions in the initial stages. But then, the level of adaptation was comparable to that of the other regular tasks of other rehabilitation programmes.

The dimension of impersonality an important attribute of public bureaucracies, ceased to operate at the point of delivering relief or succour to the victims. The spirit of service seem to have permeated to most of those at the cutting-edge. Traditional *dharmic* notions of helping those in tragic circumstances was an important source of motivation. Some of those who put in long-hours of work under difficult working conditions felt happy that they could be of some service to the disaster victims. One of the employees notes his feelings:

It was the first instance that I had done some genuine service. There was an element of satisfaction in what I was doing. My personal involvement was there. The food was bad and sometimes we had to go without it. Journey on bad roads coupled with long walks and odd hours were something I had never experienced before. In regular administration many of us would have dodged such work or made fuss over it, but not here. This is not the place for complaints or grumbling.²⁸

Many officers attest that the vehicle drivers rose to the occasion. The State Special Armed Police and the prisoners who had no training in corpse removal shouldered an arduous task.²⁹

²⁸A major exception to this tendency was the behaviour of a number of village officers and sarpanches in the 1977 relief operations. Quite a few of them, especially in the core impact area, experienced undue stress due to either loss of family members or damage to properties. In such cases, they were prone to give priority to the performance of their family roles rather than to their official roles.

²⁹K. Ramachandra Reddy, "The Cyclone and the Police" in *Sorlagondi*, Machilipatnam, Office of the Superintendent of Police, Krishna District, 1979.

Improvisation of roles also occurred in some instances. During the immediate aftermath of the 1977. Cyclone, there was a persistent demand that the district collector of Krishna should visit all the affected villages. Considering the vast range of his responsibilities, it was an impossible task for the Collector to wade through slush and mud and visit all the affected villages. An ex-army officer recruit of the IAS cadre happened to be one of the special officers. He was assigned the task of visiting all the villages and announce to the villagers that the special collector came round to see them. Such role improvisation was intended to promote confidence among the people. During the 1979 cyclone, the Government were terribly concerned about the possibility of the press sensationalising the scoops. In order to restrain the press constant interaction was maintained with the local press reporters by one of the senior IAS officers. In sum, the assumption of the roles of public relations specialists by some officers by itself constitutes an instance of the emergence of new task sub-systems with latent goals that are linked to the substantive goals of the organisation.

Environment and Organisational Adaptation

A crisis situation activates some elements of the environment. Such elements could impede or facilitate organisational adaptation. Among a vast array of environmental dimensions, technology and the political conditions are considered crucial in a disaster situation. The level and type of technology available for use influences the speed and effectiveness of operations. The political situation is equally important; it influences public expectations as well as the operating goals of an organisation. In this section, the organisation's response to technology and the political situation are being discussed.

One major handicap to the disaster organisation arises from the absence of sophisticated technology for an early warning system and accurate forecasting about the target areas of an approaching cyclone. The methods used for processing weather data at the Cyclone Radar Stations are still primitive. The time lag between the location of a cyclone at a certain point and the communication of that information to the district collectors is quite large. The procedures followed for the communication of weather data by the meteorological stations to the State and local officers are also somewhat formalistic. Conveying of weather data through informal channels, before awaiting confirmation, would have improved disaster preparedness.³⁰

The installation of the underground co-axial cable system across the east coast has contributed to an effective network of communications

³⁰B.K. Rao, the then Commissioner for Cyclone Relief, Government of Andhra Pradesh, in a talk at the ICSSR Workshop on the Two Andhra Cyclones, Hyderabad, August 6, 1979.

between the State and district headquarters. This proved to be a great asset to the disaster organisation. The big problem, however, lies within the field. Access to the VHF sets of the police within the field eased part of the problem. For an effective early warning system, the use of satellite—in combination with land meteorological stations—would have provided advance information about various kinds of disasters.³¹ Besides, the stock-piling of VHF sets at the headquarters of the vulnerable districts for use in emergencies could have contributed to the furtherance of organisational adaptation.

Sufficient attention has not been paid towards generating technologies that would enable expeditious handling of the various post-emergency operations by the disaster organisation. Search and rescue operations were either left to the military's rescue units or the police. The police did not have any special equipment such as extrication devices or rescue gear required for these operations. The military's helicopters, indented by the State, were deployed for rescue operations and food drops to marooned villagers. However, the commissioning of helicopters for ferrying VIPs to the affected areas did not leave them much time for rescue and relief operations. The technology available for the removal of debris and clearance of tree trunks from the roads was mostly labour-intensive. It took nearly two days after the 1979 disaster to obtain power-saws for clearing tree trunks from the roads. Clearance operations, therefore, proved to be time-consuming and were mainly responsible for the slow movement of relief materials to the interior villages.

As mentioned earlier, burning of a huge number of corpses and carcasses posed a serious problem in 1977. The technology used for this operation was largely makeshift. First, kerosene and wood were used. Coal was substituted for wood subsequently. Locally available implements and improvised tools such as shovels, spades, hooks, etc., were utilised for the corpse removal work. Although the number of trucks, jeeps and tractors requisitioned for relief was sufficiently large, there was a shortage of water tankers, bulldozers and dumpers required for the relief and rehabilitation work.³²

In this context, the disaster organisation relied upon alternate solutions to overcome the technology gap. In the aftermath of the 1977 cyclone, nearly 350 bore pumps were installed within ten days to make water avail-

³¹At present, the Satellite orbiting the earth communicates only two pictures per day. With the launching of the ISRO satellite the frequency of the communication of weather data would increase enormously. For a cross-cultural analysis of the problem See United Nations, *Disaster Prevention and Mitigation: Public Information Aspects*, Vol. 10, Geneva, Office of the U.N. Disaster Relief Coordinator, 1979, pp.89-92.

³²The Morvi (Gujarat) operations, following the dam burst in 1979 were characterised by a higher level of technological intensity compared to that of the two Andhra Cyclones.

able locally. In 1979, arrangements were made for the early restoration of the local water sources and for the installation of hand pumps at points of acute scarcity. Relief could not be rushed to many villages due to major road breaches. Besides helicopter sorties, relief materials were arranged for such villages by bullock carts and headloads. There was no alternative to dependence on various technologies, from primitive to modern.

Clearly, there were a number of gaps in the technologies available. Very little equipment was designed or marketed specifically for use in a disaster. Such gaps in technology impose severe limitations on the organisation's capability to cope with large-scale disasters. Improvisation of existing technologies, wherever it occurred, was largely random and *ad hoc*.

Political Environment and Organisational Adaptation

Each functional arena tends to develop its own political environment. A disaster is no exception to this. In the case of the two Andhra disasters, the goals and perceptions of the political elites were not entirely congruent with that of the bureaucracy. The latter was hung upon uniformity and predictability in its approach. Accordingly, uniform criteria of eligibility for various categories of relief and the quantum of aid were set out. The bureaucracy's expectation was that the politicians—elites and non-elites—would play a supportive role; it meant limiting their role to conveying information about non-coverage of villages or victims and reporting of irregularities in relief operations. The politicians had a different set of expectations. They wanted a more active role so that they could represent their constituents. Besides the prominent political elites of the ruling party, there were a number of leaders of the opposition who did not want to lag behind their political adversaries. In this atmosphere, there was a tendency to exaggerate the victims' condition and an over-display of 'demanding' behaviour and a pre-occupation with publicity. The successive disasters were, therefore, perceived as political opportunities to strengthen their respective political bases. Some of them tried to become popular overnight. Dharnas (picketing) and bandhs were organised by opposition groups seeking extension of aid to persons who were considered ineligible by the enumerators or for extension of the period or quantum of aid to the victims on relief rolls.³³ In 1979, the residents of urban areas, least affected by the cyclone, also tended to be most vocal in their demands.

³³In 1979 the political elites at the State level were trying to avoid a bad press, public controversies and a political holocaust of the type that occurred in 1977. In the latter event, a number of State level ministers and prominent politicians belonging to the Congress (headed by Brahmananda Reddy) used the excuse of the State Government's ineffective handling of the Cyclone to break away from the ruling party. Two other situational factors made the 1979 Cyclone aftermath more favourable to the political elites of the ruling Congress Party: the number of deaths was limited and an election was not imminent, as in 1977.

The 1977 cyclone aftermath was characterised by intense politicisation, largely out of partisan considerations. As the election to the State Assembly was round the corner the cyclone situation was attempted to be utilised by the groups opposed to the ruling Congress Party as a springboard for success at the ensuing hustings. It led to a series of fierce controversies and acrimonious debates among the contending political groups. Notwithstanding such funeral orations and the estrangement between the Union and State Governments, the officers at both these levels were able to forge excellent cooperative relationships. What loomed large was the nature of the calamity. As one senior officer of the State Secretariat reflects:

Behind all the political harangue and the series of provocative and partisan statements and counter-statements, the officers concerned with the processing of disaster-relevant issues and papers developed excellent cooperative relationships. Our concern was with facts, the methods of ameliorating the condition of the disaster victims and the norms and modalities concerning aid. Our approach was in startling contrast to what appeared in the daily newspapers about the nature of Centre-State relationship; each set of politicians was so far apart from its political adversaries and we, the administrators, were so close to each other.

Key administrators at the State and district levels and the political elites of the ruling party had different perspectives about relief and rehabilitation. But they were not interested in a showdown either. Both sides were keen to avoid a public controversy or avert the possibility to sensationalise issues. The situation led to the emergence of a policy sub-system based on bargaining and 'give and take' rather than one of confrontation with 'the relevant others'. Yet, there were instances of politicians rocking the boat, when someone attempts to become a hero out of a crisis.

In general, the bureaucracy was willing to make adjustments and adapt to the political exigencies of the environment. Where organised political groups were persistent, the bureaucracy liberalised its criteria of eligibility for relief. As one officer puts it:

They (the agitators) were breathing down on our necks. To take the wind out of the sail or avoid nuisance we had to defuse the situation by being flexible in our approach. To be liberal in granting relief means 'to err on the right side'. As a consequence, areas least affected by the disaster received the same level of assistance as the worst-affected in 1979. The Cyclone was perceived by many as an opportunity to extract.³¹

³¹A major exception to this trend was the demarcation of the worst-affected area (110 villages in Divi and Bandar of Krishna District) for special treatment in 1977.

One consequence of such pressures was an inflation of the relief roll. Persistent claimants and vocal elements were accommodated. Taluks and districts, not very much affected by the disaster, were granted remission of land revenue and declared eligible for receiving relief aid. The decision to involve a large number of non-revenue personnel from within the affected districts as well as state government employees from the less affected districts was aimed at forestalling local political pressures. Yet, adjustments were not entirely ruled out. Cyclone Relief and Rehabilitation Committees, composed of representatives of all political parties, civil servants and voluntary agencies were set up at state and district levels. Meetings had been conducted at regular intervals.³⁵ There was a sincere attempt to accommodate the demands of the political elites to the extent the political set-up at the State level tolerated such demands.

This leads us to the next observation. The concept of cyclone relief has come to acquire a new meaning. Relief was being provided in most of the cases, not so much because people were going to starve or die if it was not rushed to every claimant. With the exception of the tidal wave affected area in 1977, the bulk of the claimants in 1977 and 1979 were in a position to take care of themselves or taken care of by the local communities.³⁶ However, a number of factors had contributed to the 'raising expectations' of people about relief.

Evidently, both dimensions—technology and the political situation—of the environment had imposed constraints on organisational adaptation. Gaps in technology had the effect of slowing down the pace of operations at each stage, thus hindering the prompt delivery of services. The political situation, as reflected in the dispositions of the elites and expectations of the clientele, placed severe restraints on the pursuit of a uniform approach by the bureaucracy. The enforcement of universalistic criteria by the bureaucracy tended to be an impossible goal in an environment of 'free enterprise politics'.³⁷ Because of their inclination to avoid public controversies, most of the bureaucrats favoured some sort of equilibrium with the dominant political elites as well as the other organised political interests; in

³⁵All party relief committees were confined to the State level only in 1977.

³⁶This observation is based on quantitative data from an ongoing study of the Community's Role in Disaster Preparedness undertaken by the author. A number of factors seem to have contributed to the 'raising expectations of the people about receiving some doles' from the Government. Firstly, with the introduction of a number of welfare-oriented measures in the 1970s the expectation of Government doles has gained legitimacy. Secondly, the Central Government has been quite liberal in its subventions for relief, though not for rehabilitation programmes. Thirdly, the occurrence of a major disaster, as in 1977, prior to the Assembly elections, provision of relief in a liberal way was considered both a humanitarian gesture as well as a political investment.

³⁷According to Robert Wi-sing the ruling elites in India have been striving to advance their own goals by bartering scarce resources for popular assent. See his *Socialist Society and Free Enterprise Politics*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1977, pp. 196-97.

the process, considerations of uniformity and cost-effectiveness received a low priority.

CONCLUSION

Bureaucracies have been charged with being insensitive to the demands made upon them. There is also the stereotype in countries like India that a government bureaucracy would not be sufficiently responsive to the needs of disaster victims because of systemic rigidities and rulebound behaviour. However, such negative connotations about the structural and behavioural dimensions of bureaucratic organisation have been dispelled by recent evidence from India concerning bureaucratic response to disaster situations. Certain revisions of the traditional views on the Indian bureaucracy appear to be in order. There is some support to the view that changes in the external environment can—and did—induce the need to make adaptations in the structure and procedures of administration. Disasters represent one such major change in the situational context. As the discussion in the preceding sections illustrates, most of the observations made in this study converge on a theoretical plane with that of other disaster studies. One is also struck by the fact that organisational adaptation in the case of the two Andhra disasters (1977 and 1979) was much less comprehensive than that noted by analysts of the Maharashtra drought (1971-74). The differences are perhaps attributable to three dimensions of organisational situation: the political environment, level of technology employed, and the temporal element. First, the relationship between politicians and administrators was quite harmonious in the Maharashtra situation, whereas it ranged from acute conflict to accommodation in Andhra. A mutually supportive environment was conspicuously lacking in 1977, though not in 1979. Secondly, the impact of a cyclone is sudden and spatially concentrated. Its primary target is disruption of vital communications. The availability of high-cost technology could obviate the snowballing effects of such a calamity. In contrast to this a drought provides sufficient time to develop organisational strategies and fill gaps in technology. Indeed, the focus of the bulk of drought relief programmes is upon utilisation of unskilled and semi-skilled manpower. It is evident that improvements in the technology relevant to a cyclone situation did not keep pace with the nature of the threat or the magnitude of the rescue and relief operations.

One other significant trend is noticeable in the operations of the two Andhra disasters. There was greater congruence between organisational structure and the functional requirements at the relief stage. There was an earnest attempt to match organisational capacity with the sudden increase in the demand loads during this stage. As the disaster organisation moved into the phase of rehabilitation, inertia appears to have set in, reducing the

level of organisational adaptation. One possible explanation for the difference is that expectations from the environment of a high level of performance seem to taper off after the relief stage. An alternative theoretical proposition may also be inferred from the available evidence. Organisational adaptation, including inter-agency collaboration, was most extensive in the performance of new tasks, but limited in the case of regular tasks. The most typical example of a new task is disposal of corpses and carcasses. In performing this activity, major adaptations in the structure and procedures occurred. Turning to an analysis of the organisational process concerning the regular tasks such as restoration of communications or grant of loans for rehabilitation purposes, one finds reliance on regular structures and procedures. Changes, if any, were marginal. In fact, there was an increased reliance upon conventional mechanisms of hierarchical control and supervision for improving organisational effectiveness. In the light of evidence from the two Andhra disasters, organisational adaptation should be considered as a two-dimensional continuum, representing change in structure and tasks. These two dimensions are separate, but interrelated.³⁸

In sum, we note that organisational adaptation in a disaster situation would not occur in a sweeping manner. The structural and procedural attributes of an organisation undergo fundamental transformations in the context of a greater range and load of unconventional tasks and a higher level of expectations of effective performance from 'relevant others' in the environment. Significant among the 'relevant others' are the political elites, the mass media and the sub-populations affected by a disaster.

One final observation is in order. It concerns the distinction between organisational adaptation and organisational change. In suggesting that there was organisational adaptation we do not claim that as an organisational innovation.

The bulk of the disaster—related programmes are temporary. Governmental policies in this sphere are merely a 'fair weather arrangement'. A disaster shakes off governmental lethargy. A temporary organisation emerges in response to a disaster. Once the crisis is over bureaucracies have a tendency to relapse into the old order. The structural and procedural innovations are not sustained beyond the relief stage. Nor is there any continuance of the behavioural patterns relating to inter-organisational relationships, empathy for the client or result-orientation. □

³⁸For an elaborate treatment of this approach see Brouillette and E.L. Quarantelli, "Types of Patterned Variation in Bureaucratic Adaptations to Organisational Stress", *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Winter 1971, pp. 39-48.

Methods of Social Work in Indian Context

V. Veeraraghavan

CONSIDERATION of social work methods involves making a clear distinction between social work as a form of charitable activity and social work as a profession which aims to develop the capacity of individuals/groups and communities to solve their problems. Historically, in all societies, especially during feudalistic stage of development, social work has existed essentially as a charitable activity. In this, assistance—basically financial—is provided to the poor, often considered undeserving; to the deprived, the handicapped and the unfortunate. Such an attitude was also encouraged by religion which fostered acts of charity sometimes as expiation for sins.

Contrary to this, modern social work is based on the belief that every individual has an innate dignity and worth and has the capacity to think and decide for himself and to solve his problems. This capacity, however, may be temporarily lost due to various environmental and personal factors. This loss of capacity might occur in individuals, groups or communities and it could be restored through appropriate methods of social work. These methods comprise case work, group work and community organisation. Some of the major principles and techniques of these methods are briefly summarised in table at pages 84-85.

In India, as elsewhere social work has been primarily of the welfare/charity type. In fact even today a surprisingly large number of otherwise well informed people are not aware of social work except in these terms. However, due to the impact of Western ideas and the establishment of schools of social work in different parts of the country, a cadre of trained social workers has been gradually built up and initial steps towards a profession of social work appears to have been taken, though it is a long way for social work to attain a full professional status. Even in the West, Bartlett (1971) pointed out the shaky foothold of social work as a profession as it was based on psychodynamic theories which were themselves unscientific. In India, the profession has not yet crossed the stage

of infancy. Even experts in the field do not consider it a profession but only an approach and a discipline *e.g.*, Ranade (1954), Pathak (1975). After a searching analysis of social work profession in India, one comes to the conclusion that it has not yet become a profession, and it is doubtful if it would become one in the next two decades.

There are many reasons for this slow growth of social work as a profession in India which are elaborated further later on, but which briefly relate to the inadequacy of training, the inappropriateness of placements/jobs, the lack of understanding of the potentials of social work on the part of other allied professions which have to utilize social work, the low pay scales and the consequent loss of trained personnel, and the lack of systematic supervision, development on the job, including lack of opportunities for retraining and updating of skills and knowledge. These factors reinforce one another and are cumulatively responsible for the vicious circle of poor contribution, low status and lack of professional development.

There is, however, a widespread realisation of the need for good professional social work and of its high potential in the Indian context. Millions of Indians, whether in villages or in towns face serious and sometimes incapacitating problems. Extreme poverty combined with lack of job and educational opportunities, and several social problems create situations where social work methods and techniques could be immensely helpful. Added to these, the tensions and anxieties arising from inter-generational and cross cultural conflicts, the breakdown of the joint family system which provided social and emotional security, the problem of migrants from rural to urban areas, the establishment of nuclear families and many other such changes have created difficulties which cannot be solved without the assistance of professional social work.

These problems are by no means confined only to the poor; in fact serious problems of personal, emotional and social adjustment are very much in evidence in the middle classes and among the rich as well. The large and increasing number of suicides is but one index of the intense miseries suffered in helpless silence by very large numbers. Further, the attempts to provide corrective measures have concentrated excessively on provision of relief and building up of institutional services without the key link with social work, a profession, which helps the individuals to become self reliant and thus enables a more permanent solution to problems. It is then small wonder that many of the programmes for socio-economic development as well as welfare schemes for amelioration and relief have not had the success expected of them.

The precise manner in which these problems could be solved through social work could be considered by examining the current status and potential of each of its three methods, *viz.*, casework, group work and community organisation.

TABLE

	<i>Case work</i>		<i>Group work</i>	<i>Community organisation</i>
Definition	Social case work is a process used by certain human welfare agencies to help individuals to cope more effectively with their problems in Social functioning (Perلمان, 1957)		Social group work is a method of social work which helps individuals to enhance their functioning through purposeful group experiences and to cope more effectively with their personal, group or community problems (Konapka 1963)	Community organisation is a process by which community identifies its needs or objectives, gives priority to them, develops the confidence and will to work at them, finds resources—internal and in doing so, extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices within the community (Ross, 1955)
Principles	<p><i>Principle of Acceptance:</i> Accepting the individual as he is.</p> <p><i>Self Determination:</i> Allowing the client to decide for himself rather than deciding for him.</p> <p><i>Confidentiality:</i> None of what is told by the client to the worker should be shared with anyone else except in the interest of the client and with his permission and awareness.</p>		Every member should be accepted with all his assets and liabilities. In a group, every member is important and must be treated alike. Every member should be given equal opportunity to put forth his view points.	<p>Accept all members of the community with all their assets and limitation start at the level where the community is. The felt needs of the community should be identified before formulating any programme for the community.</p> <p>The community is capable of dividing for itself. No programme can be successful unless the member of the community formulates the programme in accordance with the felt needs.</p>

Techniques

Client worker relationship-development. Helping the client to express himself freely regarding himself, others and his problem. Diagnosing the cause of the problem. Treating the cause through egosupport, developing confidence, environmental manipulation, etc.	Help individuals to share their experiences with others and feel that their problem is not a unique one. Provide such tasks which would encourage participation thereby leading to smoothen the angularities and complexes in the individuals. Help the individuals to release their tension and anxieties through appropriate tasks leading thereby to achieving a positive self image, right attitude and behaviour towards problems.	Establishing a relationship with the members of the community. Conducting a survey to ascertain the needs and problems of the community. Resolving conflicts in the community as and when they arise. Involving people through committees in different programmes and get their consensus in regard to the programme and implementation of it. Make use of the resources within the Community and outside the community.
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CASE WORK

The basic principles of case work are the same as those of social work, though some principles have been given higher importance in case work, viz., the principles of acceptance, self determination and confidentiality.

The principle of acceptance refers to the attitude of the worker, his/her respect for the client as an individual, as a person with a problem, without any overt or implied criticism or judgment of his conduct or behaviour. This gives a feeling of security and enhances the self esteem of the clients, who may feel encouraged to appraise themselves and their conduct objectively instead of taking resort to a defensive behaviour; it also fosters the client's belief in his innate worth and dignity. The principle of self determination recognises the rights of the client to make his own decisions and be responsible for his own actions though it is understood that individuals cannot be allowed absolute freedom in taking decisions at the expense of society.

When individuals are overwhelmed by problems, their capacity to act rationally is adversely affected and the case worker encourages the client to verbalise his thoughts and through suitable media such as questions, comments, etc., develops in him the capacity to think through his problems.

The principle of confidentiality implies that the relationship between the case worker and client is one of trust and whatever is revealed to the worker in course of this relationship, has to be kept confidential though there may be a need to share a part of this information with other professionals involved, but this is done only in the interest of the client.

Techniques of Case Work

The case worker is generally employed in an agency which offers service to people. The client may be referred to the agency by some one or may come to the agency on his/her own.

The first task of the worker is to find out about the client, the situation in which he is and the reasons for his referral.

The worker must not only assess the problem objectively, but must understand what the problem means to the client. The ability and skill with which the worker conveys to the client her acceptance and understanding would enhance his confidence in himself which is the first essential step in case work.

The second task is to understand the problem and its significance to the client. Sometimes the client may not come to a main problem directly and may beat around the bush or may talk of other insignificant 'problems' which are not related to the matter on which he seeks help.

The art of listening, observation and interpretation helps the worker get to the real problem. Very often explaining the role of the agency and

her own role facilitates the clients talk about his problem, removes his doubts and misapprehensions.

Having understood the person and the problem, the third task is to develop a professional working relationship with the client which alone can help to solve the problems of the client.

As Perlman (1957) states, it is the demonstration of sympathetic attitudes and interest and not work—that encourages the client to express his problems frankly and without inhibition. Thus attentiveness, respect, compassion and steadiness are some of the essential qualities required to establish this relationship. Such a relationship should engage the client at the earliest, to participate in tackling the problem, so that the client does not become dependent on the worker to solve his problems and gradually learn to take up full responsibilities on his own.

Clients vary a great deal in their ability to take up such a responsibility, and thus the worker should gauge their capacity to do this by finding out how have they done in the past and understand the client's ideas as to how the present problem can be tackled. The worker has also to assess the client's motivation to solve his problems, the problems that need immediate attention and distinguish these from problems that can be postponed to a later time. The timing of a solution to a problem, as well as setting up of goals for the future are equally important.

The total process of ascertaining the facts, understanding their meaning and deciding upon the means of help is called as 'Social Diagnosis'. Diagnosis ordinarily suggests a complete appraisal preceding treatment. This is not true in case work as diagnosis and treatment go hand in hand. Since 'Relationship' is the instrument through which case work help is offered, treatment begins as soon as the worker and client meet.

The information needed for each case varies from a mere single enquiry to a very detailed exploration of the individual, his family and his environment. The assessment of what facts and what type of exploration are needed, depends on the skill of the worker in determining the requirements of each case.

Understanding the client presupposes understanding of the 'ego strength' of the individual. Since social work itself is based on psycho-dynamic theory, effective case work depends to a large extent on the understanding of the concepts of the Id, ego and Superego and the interplay of these forces in producing a typical behaviour in the individual. Understanding of the defences being used by the individual in dealing with his life situation gives an indication of the life style and adaptive capacity of the individual.

A detailed social history of the client with his major life experiences in a chronological sequence helps to plan the treatment and rehabilitation of the client. As the client reveals his past and comes to the present, the areas of conflict together with his defences emerge. Using her skill, the

case worker determines which facts are important in a case and when other people in the life of the individual should be associated in the process. Since individual belongs to a family and a community which thwart or facilitate the gratification of his needs, wishes and desires, the forces outside the individual and their interaction with the individual need a thorough investigation to help the clients to adjust better into his family and community.

The last task in case work is to provide the means to help the client overcome his problems. In some cases the problem gets solved the moment the client is able to verbalise his problem.

In other cases, the caseworker provides an insight to the client regarding the various past and present factors that led to the problem, as well as about other's behaviour towards him. Such clarifications and insight help the client to change his behaviour and adjust better.

In certain cases, not only the caseworker offers support and guidance but also a new kind of experience in relationships. The client learns new forms of behaviour leading to resolution of the problems.

In a number of cases, the worker may attempt to bring the family members into the case work situation, provides them an understanding of the client's problems, his attitudes, approach and behaviour arising as a consequence of their respective attitudes. This helps to bring about a change in the family members attitude towards the client and thus leads to a better adjustment.

In some cases, the worker provides financial assistance to tide over a crisis situation, while in some other cases, she may provide referral services for specialised treatment, care and rehabilitation.

Where the client's problem is deep rooted within him, the worker strengthens his ego and endeavours to bring about a change in his personality.

Thus casework is a method of social work, which uses techniques such as lessening of threat, use of repetitive themes, themes of identification and self identity, dependent-independent themes, and use of psycho-therapeutic techniques. It deals with individuals on one-to-one basis and geared to solve an individual's problem, using professional skill and expertise.

Use of Casework in India

Case work is used in various settings such as child care and child guidance institutions, schools, colleges, medical and psychiatric settings, family welfare/marriage counselling centres, institutions for the old and infirm as well as handicapped, and also with people who suffer from addiction, character disorders, emotional disturbances and the like.

Case work with children is a very challenging and difficult task because a child cannot verbalise his emotions well as an adult would. Very often

the child expresses his feelings in play, action and other situations. These have to be observed, understood and correctly interpreted if the children have to be helped.

For example, a boy of 4½ years of age, who was referred with a complaint of being destructive and aggressive in the class, was found to be expressing his anger against his mother on other children of his class. This was revealed in a play situation where he started playing with dolls in a dolls house. He identified the dolls house with his own and arranged the parent dolls, sibling dolls and started playing with them. In the early stages he would show the tension at home by putting the mother and newly born sibling doll in a corner, with himself no where in the picture. Later he showed his anger by throwing the sibling doll before a jeep and having it run over, with the mother doll attending to him (client) exclusively. These situations played out by the child, not only helped in diagnosing the problem, but, was useful for treatment purposes. The child was able to let out his pent up aggression on the concerned dolls which were cause for deprivation. Gradually his aggressive behaviour reduced considerably.

The skill and knowledge in the case work method help to deal with other types of maladjustment in the individuals.

For example Ravi, 15 years old, studying in a public school, a brilliant student suddenly showed deterioration in studies. The social worker helped him to verbalise his problems using the techniques of acceptance and confidentiality. The problem that emerged was that the boy was going through the period of adolescence and had many worries and doubts about his body, his relationship with peers, with parents and so on. He was ridden with guilty feelings that he was rude to his parents and authority figures; he was unhappy that he was not popular amongst his peers; he had many doubts about religion and other established cultural norms. He had feared talking about any of these doubts to anyone; the moment he was able to express and verbalise his doubts, worries and apprehensions to the case worker he felt relieved. Gradually with the development of insight into the whys of his own behaviour in adolescence, he was able to concentrate better on his studies and regain his original position in the class. In this case, the capacity to listen purposefully with a view to understand and guide the individual to express his problems all that was required. The social worker needed to give proper clarification and guidance to the boy to think on the right lines so as to help him to get over the problem.

Another setting where professionally trained social workers are in a position to make very significant contribution is, in the area of family and mental health counselling. The case of Mr. K who suffered from impotency illustrates the possibilities here. He was married for 3 months and could not consummate his marriage. Through methods of case work, it

was possible to gauge the extreme attachment of the client to his mother who being a widow and having this only son, never allowed him to become independent of her. His worship of his mother led to similar attitudes to all women, and thus, he could not bring himself to accept his marriage partner as his wife. The problem was further accentuated by the non-cooperation of his wife, who was far more educated than the client and was holding a job which fetched higher pay than the client. In the treatment process, the abnormal dependence on his mother was pointed out, his ego was strengthened and gradually he was provided with experiences to take decisions on his own instead of running to his mother for decisions. At the same time, the wife was also brought into the therapeutic process and was made to understand the client's point of view and his behaviour. Since there was a high motivation on the part of the couple to make the marriage a success, it was possible to help the client gradually to be more confident, independent and assertive. They were made to live away, from the mother in a separate house, but without any guilty feeling of leaving the mother alone. The separation anxiety was also handled along with sex education. All these ultimately removed his impotency in a matter of six months. The above case is an example of the use of casework in a psychiatric setting, where not only therapy was carried out on a one-to-one individual basis with the client, exploring in depth, but also involved the immediate relatives into the process. This indicates how environmental manipulation can be effectively used to deal with the client's problem.

In another case the whole family had to be involved and family counselling had to be carried out in the client's home. The case was that of Mrs. S. suffering from neurotic depression. She had 4 daughters and 2 sons—the eldest daughter being 21 years old and the youngest son being 7 years of age. Depression was precipitated by the client's feeling that she is disobeyed, rejected and uncared for at home. The whole problem was related to the interactional situations in the family everyone blaming every other person for lack of understanding. It was impossible to get all the members of the family to the clinic and hence the worker had to go to the client's home to carry on the counselling sessions. Each one of them was made to talk about their expectations from the client. Similarly the client was made to clarify her expectations from family members. These sessions, where all could openly discuss their feelings in the presence of the worker, which they never did in the past for the fear of being hurt or hurting the client, helped to resolve most of their distortions and misunderstandings. As misunderstandings and quarrels were over, problems concerning money matters were taken up. With a little help by way of proper budgeting it was possible to avert the crisis arising out of financial management. The problems relating to the husband and wife were also sorted out through counselling of husband and wife separately and in joint sessions at the clinic. The client showed considerable improvement and was relieved.

of the depression which was affecting even her routine activities.

Thus it is seen that the method of case work helps a variety of problems and people. It is axiomatic that such help can be rendered only by well trained and qualified personnel. Most settings in India do not have qualified personnel and thus the demonstration of what they can do to persons with problems, does not take place. This in turn leads to the ignorance of social workers' role, on the part of policy making and recruiting authorities.

GROUP WORK

So far the discussion has been focused on one method of social work, viz., case work. The other 2 methods now need consideration.

While case work is an effective method of dealing with individual cases on one-to-one basis, in many cases (as was seen in family counselling case above) the client also needs to be treated in a group. Presently one observes a trend of greater community orientation in offering social service. Even in the West case workers are turning towards treating individuals in groups (Davies, 1975).

Younghusband (1973) pointed out that group work is used by both case workers and community workers as a necessary adjunct to or a key part of their work.

A group can function as a means for treatment and also be the context of treatment. Social work with groups can be considered as a tactical manoeuvre intended to help clients. The crucial factor about 'a group' are the processes and structures which emerge when 3 or more individuals in a setting begin to exchange words, actions and feelings. It is the existence of this exchange or interaction that constitutes a 'group situation'. Groupwork is thus that element of social work which goes on within and through the interactional processes and structures. It is deliberately designed and consciously carried out.

As against case work, group work focuses on social psychological rather than on purely psychoanalytical sources of understanding; it emphasises group centred sources and channels of help and gives importance to the nature and process of interactions that take place in a group.

Group work is based on the assumption that man never lives in isolation and hence treating him away from others will not bear fruit as treating him as part of a group. For many, it may be argued that it is the experience of being in a group which is normal than the one-to-one private confrontation which is strange. In a group, the individual learns to share his experience with others and feels relieved at letting out the pent up emotions. He learns that his problem is not an unique one and that there are others like him who have faced similar problems. He learns from others how they have tackled a similar problem and thus learns different

and suitable methods of solving his own problems. Further the group experience smoothen his sharp angularities and helps him to be a more balanced personality. It helps to change his perception of self and others and thereby contribute to a better adjustment and greater tolerance. There is a reduced sense of isolation as he takes up different roles to play and understands the problems involved in those roles. It helps to achieve identity with others. It helps to release tensions and anxieties through chosen group tasks, and achieve a different self image, right type of attitude, behaviour and personal circumstances outside group situation.

As pointed out by Davies (1975), in a group, other clients, apart from the worker, modify an individual's feelings about himself, or his attitudes towards others. They might together, create conditions which ultimately strengthen the individual for independent action outside the group. It is the interaction among human beings that helps to define and create the characteristics of the self which are unique or highly individual. As stated by Hargreaves (1972) the individual is 'constructed' in relationship with others so that the self arises from the social experience of interacting with others.

Group of six to ten persons are formed on different criteria. The preliminary introduction is given. After this is over, the worker is asked to initiate the interaction by providing the group a task, such as a topic for discussion, or a problem to solve, or a real or hypothetical situation which may be similar to any one of the members' problem. A discussion amongst members ensues, with each giving his views or playing up his respective roles. Each one is helped to participate without inhibition and in this way learns to overcome many of his angularities through the interactional processes. A tactful observation and interpretation of each one of the members' responses and behaviours is made to stimulate the concerned members interact and participate appropriately.

Stages of Group Development

Broadly speaking, a group establishes and organises its internal interaction to meet the expressive tasks with which it is faced. In the process, it goes through certain stages of development (Davies, 1975), namely, (1) a synchronisation of personalities; (2) Exploitive, i.e., instrumentally focused changes; (3) Affirmative, i.e., expressively focused changes, and (4) Termination.

In the stage of synchronisation, people of opposite personalities try to reach to an understanding, for instance, the introvert tries to move up in the dimension towards extraversion while the extravert tries to move down towards introversion as a result of interaction. Thus there is a synchronisation of personalities, give and take and a free flow of exchanges.

In the beginning the exchanges have hardly much focus on relevant issues. They may be egocentric or one individual may be most dominant

and may like to focus on those tasks which are of interest to him. From this totally disorderly disoriented exchange, gradual change takes place in the direction of purposeful exchange.

From this the group moves on to the exchange of attitudes, feelings and knowledge between the members of the group, which in turn generates more emotional and social understanding amongst the members. In the process, some values, goals, norms as well as roles are imparted to the members, and each individual adjusts to the situation helped by other individuals. At this stage, each member attains higher degree of tolerance for the individual differences. Thus the stage is set for the next step in development, viz., termination.

The last stage of group work, (*i.e.*), termination is a distinct experience. The tasks have to be wound up, the group has to disburse having achieved the goal of *better adjustment and modification* of behaviour in the concerned individuals. The stage like earlier ones, involves high social and emotional repercussions. Hence considerable tact and skill are needed to get the group dismantled gradually over a period of time. The members should be encouraged to develop their own groups outside the group situation. As they develop more confidence and capacity to purposefully interact they are in a position to form attachments outside the group. This has to be encouraged from the time the members show ability to interact within the group situation. While the group goes through these stages of development, at every stage the introduction of tasks of relevant nature is most crucial for purposeful interaction and meaningful growth of members.

Group Work in India

This method perhaps is not at all applied to any real situations, though social work students do get an idea of this when they undergo training, where they organise groups of children and work them. In hospital settings or institutional settings one hardly finds such activity going on. However, one cannot ignore its effectiveness as can be seen in the following situation handled by social workers in a school setting. Of the many cases referred to the social workers in the school, some were referred for shyness, some for aggression, some for domination, some for disobedience and lack of concentration in studies, and a few for scholastic backwardness. The worker formed a group of 6 children of the same age groups—all males—consisting of shy, 1 outgoing; 1 dominant, 1 submissive; 1 aggressive and 1 nonaggressive child. These children knew each other, though were not close friends. Many types of problem-solving tasks were given to the group in which the children had to work in a dyad and at times work in triad and also in certain tasks work in a group of 6. In addition there were many discussion sessions on various topics of interest to all the 6 of them, including difficulties with teachers, friends, parents and students. Over a period of 6 months, the results showed a remarkable change in all the

6 children, with the dominant child showing less dominant characteristics the submissive one becoming less submissive and more independent, the aggressive child showing practically no aggression except in extremely frustrating situations. All these children who were initially referred by the school as difficult children, were able to adjust very well in their classes and the teacher gave a favourable account of them in the class.

COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

The two methods of social work, *viz.*, case work and group work are used mainly for curative objectives. The method of community organisation, however, helps people identify the problems in their community, explore the ways and means of solving the problems and ultimately solve them by their own efforts.

The basic assumptions and principles of this method are the same as those of social work; however, the principle that is given highest importance in community organisation is that of self determination. It believes that no programme will be accepted and implemented whole heartedly except those which are decided upon by the people in the community. As such involvement of people in the problem from the initial to final stage is essential for community development. Before proceeding further it would be worthwhile to consider the definition of community, in terms of its chief characteristics.

A community is an area having distinct geographic and resource features, where people live and feel a sense of belonging to it. It is a service centre in the sense that it has certain services common to all members of the community such as school, banks, medical facilities, etc. It is also a set of social relationships. Every community has community loyalty and has a fund of experience for solving local problems. It has a set of values to which the majority of people subscribe.

The basis of community life is cooperation; and to get any programme organised, the cooperation of the people has to be ensured at all levels. They must not only become aware of the problems, but be prepared to do something about them.

The techniques used in community organisation differs from those of case work and group work. First of all, the question arises as to how to get into the community. This can be done with the help of an organisation which is already known to the people or through the important people in the community because it is easier to establish contact with people through them. The bonafides of the worker, the organisation he represents and the purpose of his entry should be made clear to the leaders and important people in the community.

Once the entry has been made possible, the next step is to find out the areas the community covers, namely, the caste-class groupings, the essential

services available, the type of organisations in the community, the family structure, the number of children in each family, the educational occupational and income patterns, etc. Such information collected through a survey would give an idea of the existing facilities and those which are needed.

The third step is to get acquainted with the people in the community. In the process of survey itself, many families would get to know the worker and the purpose with which he has come. Visiting each family and talking to them at their level and establishing an easy relationship is the most important aspect of community organisation. The worker usually begins with a topic of interest to the community and gradually moves on to other topics where their interest is to be generated.

The knowledge of caste and class groupings and conflicts will put the worker on guard so that he not only keeps himself away from being involved in class-caste conflicts, but keeps his interests safe and becomes friend to every group. At times he may have to build bridges between the groups of people who have been divided by social classes before he can do anything really constructive. If the basis of conflict is a clash of personalities, he may have to seek the help of local peacemakers. However, it should be kept in mind that conflict solving is not social worker's task and unless he feels that resolving the conflict is essential, he should restrain from taking even the preliminary steps.

Involving people in all activities will be the next step. For this he should organise committees on various issues. It must be remembered that the committees should be so formed and the issues should be so chosen that they are in line with the existing cultural values, religious beliefs and economic practices. These issues should be discussed thoroughly by the members and in the process the *felt needs* of the community in regard to the issue should be brought out. The programmes should be interpreted to the people in terms of their cultural values so as to elicit their support.

To get any proposal to be accepted even for discussions, it should be done through the existing patterns of contact between groups. A programme to cater to a felt need can be successful only if all members agree upon the programme and evolve it through their participation. Once the programme or issue has been accepted, every effort should be put in direction of how to mobilise the resources. Resources are available both within and outside the community. The worker should have a thorough knowledge of these resources, and with the help of the community make an assessment of in what manner the religious, educational, recreational, medical and other institutions can contribute towards the programme.

Since every programme would require money, it would be worthwhile to organise community chests or some type of organisation whose main responsibility would be to raise funds for the affiliated agencies and to promote cooperative planning, coordination and administration of

community's social welfare, and other services.

The special significance of this method of social work in the Indian context is obvious as the Indian village communities need a great deal of help to improve their lot and participate in self help programmes. This has been very well illustrated by Gangrade (1975) in his book on community organisation, wherein an illustration is given of a programme of constructing a school is accomplished on the basis of the felt needs of the villagers. The handling of caste and class conflicts have been explicitly covered in this case.

Thus it can be seen from above how the three methods are equally applicable and important in Indian conditions and how the right approach to the problems of the individual in a one-to-one or group or community situations would help to solve the same.

Enough has been said both in analytical terms and by way of illustrations drawn from actual experience of the very significant contribution that social case work can make in our situation. But there is hardly any awareness of these possibilities among the decision makers. This results into very few social workers in the settings where they are needed most. Even where the posts are created, recruitment is often inappropriate. From what has been stated above it should be amply clear that social work calls for highly specialised skills. Though the training provided by schools of social work might need further improvement in several directions, one fails to see how persons without any professional training whatsoever in the area, are being appointed to such positions, sometimes even in preference to trained workers. One possible explanation could of course be nepotism. Perhaps more important is the degree of ignorance among administrators and other experts in senior positions as to what social work is and can do. If they prefer an M.A. in Political Science to M.A. in Social Work, it only shows the degree of ignorance. Also the recruitment rules and procedures for most of these positions were perhaps laid down when social work was thought of as a charitable activity.

Poor recruitment procedure is only the beginning of the tragic story. The pay scales are very low. A clinical psychologist gets much more than what a trained social worker gets for the same number of years of training. This is one of the reasons why competent persons are not attracted to the field. If they do join, they take the first opportunity to quit. Turn over of trained social workers, therefore, is often unduly high. Those who remain do so rather unwillingly.

To make matters worse there is hardly any professional development on-the-job. There are no higher level supervisory cadres. The social worker who joins a position such as psychiatric social worker is thus very much left to her/his own resources with none to guide, encourage or control. In many cases the ignorance of superiors/other professionals reduces them to mere clerks, doing registration and other routine work. The

volume of this work is sometimes so large as to preclude any attempt at any professional work on the part of the social workers. Needless to say good professional work may even be frowned upon as an unwarranted attempt to do tasks beyond one's capacity. There are no plans for career development, no avenues of promotion, no refresher courses—in fact none of the well known principles of personnel management are being applied. Social workers are perhaps expected to motivate themselves in an atmosphere of indifference. Many social workers thus lose the skills they had acquired in training and become only part of the clerical cadre. Apart from the gross injustice to the trained workers and the waste of human potential, there is also the tragic failure to provide much needed services to persons with problems—a failure which could easily be avoided with little imagination, little more effort and proper consideration and development of professionally trained social workers. But the problem remains who will bell the cat? There are all kinds of vested interests, in addition to the factor of ignorance already referred to. This is the biggest challenge to the administrators in this area.

This state of affairs is not confined to social workers in specialised settings only. Take for example, the task of rural development. Many attempts at rural development in the past, including the community development movement and National Extension Services, had not come upto expectations, precisely because, they neglected the well known principles of community organisation. Nor did the approach of green revolution result in rural generation. There is now a new emphasis on adult education, community health and integrated rural development. Attempts are being made to foster village industries, employment opportunities for the rural poor and meet the basic minimum needs of the very poor. Even the most careful planning and organisational and technical arrangements as well as provision of resources will not be sufficient to reach the goal of self-sustained rural growth in the absence of adoption of community organisation. Participatory planning and development are vital, but if such ideas are not to remain mere slogans. Large scale adoption of methods and techniques of community organisation is inescapable. It is a matter of regret that large funds that could benefit the poor are literally squandered. A part of funding of every programme should be set apart to train the workers in the principles and techniques of community organisation. Such an investment would repay itself several fold.

One might conclude by pointing out that professional social work was born with modernisation of society and the pace of its development is hence related to the pace of modernisation. Yet it has a role in hastening that pace. India is entering the decade of eighties with stupendous problems. Its huge population is a great resource. If the methods of social work are competently applied, they can contribute in a significant way to both individual welfare and collective progress.

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Social Legislation and Social Change—A Case of Evils of Dowry

K.D. Gangrade

IN every society there is a kind of consensus on the normative basis of social order, which has its basis in many historical, political and philosophical sources and comprises of particular and universal values. The progressive codification of these norms, in order to operationalise the ideal social order, constitutes the major body of social legislation. This legal corpus focuses directly and primarily on the question of social welfare, justice and human dignity. Social legislation is the mechanics of relating and minimising the expectations of the least advantaged and socially underprivileged strata, consistent with the demands of equal liberty and equality of opportunity. With varying degree of success, social legislation attempts to cover the gap between consensual values and apparent incongruence with prevailing pattern of behaviour. Social legislation involves an active process of remedy by preventing or changing the wrong course of society or by selecting among the courses that are proved to be right.

Social legislation in India today is resultant of cumulative process of continued social consciousness to change the social system. But the legislation could be only effective through proper implementation in solving humane problems of the citizen. Existing laws must conform to certain prescribed standards and respect the fundamental rights granted to all citizens.

In India where the society is ridden by caste prejudices, illiteracy and narrow sectarian outlook, social legislation can be introduced only in stages. Century old customs, traditions and beliefs, however, primitive they may look to the modern age, cannot be thrown out overnight. To mould the Indian society consisting of several religions, faiths, linguistic and ethnic groups and sub-cultures into one compact unit is a herculean

task by any standard.

One can reform society either through welfare measures which must be provided in abundance, or through persuasion by creating a strong public opinion against age-old prejudices, and, lastly, by legislation. The first two of these measures failed to make any appreciable impact, they failed to touch the down-trodden millions who needed it most. Social workers, Sarvodaya workers and others engaged in persuasive methods could reach out only to a small segment of our vast and variegated population. Besides, persuasion had only a temporary effect. To illustrate the point, Mahatma Gandhi carried on a crusade against untouchability and for the upliftment of Harijans, but did not succeed in his life time.

Even the constitutional provision abolishing untouchability and various other legislative measures—such as the Untouchability Act, could not root the evil. This was so because, although the government of the day with its majority in Parliament, may pass a social measure, its implementation requires the support of strong public opinion. Between April 1977 to September 1978, 17,775 cases of atrocities on Harijans happened; out of them 7,448 cases happened in U.P; 4,951 cases in M.P; 1,644 cases in Bihar and 863 cases were recorded in other states; 482 persons belonging to the scheduled castes were killed; out of them 228 were killed in U.P; 64 in M.P; 50 in Rajasthan and 49 in Bihar; 265 were killed in other states. The increase in violence affecting the scheduled castes and tribes is alarming. According to the government (parliamentary questions, March 29, 1978) the number of violent incidents for Harijans was 6,186 out of total 6,548 in 1973. They were 8,860, 9,257, 7,781, 8,865, 5,968, 6,835 and 8,872, 10,1010 respectively for 1974, 1975, 1976 and 1977. The number of violent incidents was very high in 1974 and 1977. Even a highly educated man of the scheduled castes in a village is condemned as untouchable. Despite the passing of statutes, the problems of the untouchables have not been substantially solved. The chief weapon in the armoury of the Hindus is the economic power which they possess over the poor untouchables who are socially backward, psychologically and economically weak and numerically small.

To take another example, the dowry system prevalent in our society is a curse which has ruined, or even ended, millions of innocent lives. The government tried to curb this evil by passing a legislation against dowry as far back as 1956. Yet, in the absence of a strong public opinion, which could not be built up, the Dowry Act just could not be enforced. Similarly, although the Child Marriage Restraint Act was enacted in 1929 it failed to completely stop child marriages, and one can still find its occurrence in one form or another in our society, particularly in villages.

Enlightened public opinion may, indeed, not only prepare the ground for a piece of social legislation, but even force the government to enact it. But, in our country, enlightened public opinion means the opinion of the

elite which constitutes a microscopic minority.

This mass media particularly radio and television will, one hopes, be more effective in forming mass public opinion in favour of social uplift through legislation.

In the following pages a detailed study of evils of dowry has been made to discuss the impact of Act on eradication of dowry system in India.

The evils of dowry have taken a heavy toll of precious lives of young women. It has taken such a deep root in our system that the legislative measures, the pledges and the protests have not been of much avail. In a recent study of a sample of 1,000 students and their corresponding parents it was found that 63 per cent students (boys and girls) and 75 per cent parents (fathers and mothers) were frank enough to admit that they approve of the dowry.¹ The girls' parents were willing to pay anything from 1 to 5 lakhs of rupees for an IAS, IPS, IFS boy. Even an ordinary postgraduate in arts was priced anywhere between 20-25 thousand rupees. This speaks volumes of our marriage system. The parents are not only prepared to mortgage their property but mop up all their lives savings to see that their daughters are well settled. But the ever demanding in-laws force the girl either to commit suicide or burn her to death for non-fulfilment of the promise of the parents. This vicious circle continues. The same girl when turned into a mother-in-law forgets the plight of her parents and demands a heavy price for her son. She may not hesitate to eliminate the daughter-in-law for not getting the promised dowry. Thus the enemy of the woman is woman. It is, therefore, necessary that the woman must rise, organise and become very conscious of this evil. This evil can be removed by protests from women and their organisations.

The anti-dowry feeling recently aroused in Delhi should not only culminate in processions and demonstrations but be organised into a movement. No doubt, the procession organised by Nari Raksha Samiti, had people from all walks of life. There were working women, housewives with babies in their arms, some burqua-clad women and washer women. A man came all the way from Punjab to voice his protest. His sister was reportedly burnt to death by her husband just 14 days after her marriage. The women held playcards which carried slogans. 'All marriages should be registered', 'We will never give dowry not let any women burn', 'Arrest the killer of the women'.² It is hoped that such outbursts will not be only sporadic, but will shape in a systematic organised effort fight against the age-old atrocities being perpetuated against women.

The Prohibition of Dowry Act, 1961 is to be amended to make it more comprehensive as well as more effective. In the amended bill the accep-

¹K.D. Gangrade, *Crisis of Values—A Study in Generation Gap*, Chetna, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 96-97.

²*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, June 13, 1979, p. 16.

tance as well as offer of dowry will be made a cognisable offence. The new Bill will also seek to check the display of gifts as well as ostentation at marriages. The Committee on the Status of Women, on whose recommendation the Act is being amended, has suggested that there should be a limit of Rs. 5,000 on gifts for the bridegroom and his parents. The punishment for violation of the 1961 Dowry Act is a fine of Rs. 5,000 and six months of imprisonment. Now the punishment is to be raised and the Act given more teeth.³

It is essential that in addition to legal measures and protests, the evil has to be tackled at the social level and the women's decade has not generated enough consciousness and created organisations to remedy the situation.

The International Women's Year of 1975 has seen, in its wake, an outpouring of ideas and programmes for women's emancipation all over the world. In India, it has witnessed the stirrings of a nascent social revolution in the form of a massive campaign, spearheaded by youth, against dowry, a corrupted form of social custom associated with a marriage, a social monster that has been ruining thousands of families and gobbling up hundreds of young women all over the country every year.

Dowry is commonly understood as the money and other forms of property that a woman brings to her husband's home under a marriage contract. Needless to say, that the 'Contract' is heavily weighed against the family of the bride who is the principal victim. It has been defined by the central legislation on dowry⁴ as any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given, either directly or indirectly, by one party to the marriage to the other party or her (or his) parents or by any other person at, before or after the marriage as consideration for the marriage of the said parties. Several studies have shown that the system of dowry has relegated the position of women to a level of degradation.⁵ 'It is paradoxical,'

³*The Times of India*, New Delhi, June 13, 1979.

⁴Definition of dowry as per Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961—Section of the Act defines dowry. It means any property of valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly; (a) by one party to a marriage to the other party to a marriage; or (b) by the parents of either party to the marriage or by any other person to either party to the marriage or to any other person; at or before or after the marriage as consideration for the marriage of the said parties.

⁵(i) S.L. Hooja, *The Dowry System in India*, Asia, New Delhi, 1960. (ii) B.R. Nanda, (ed.) *Position of Hindu Women*, Vikas, 1976. (iii) Ailes Rose, *Hindu Family in Urban Setting*, Oxford University Press, 1961. (iv) M.N. Srinivasan, *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, New Book Co., 1942. (v) K.M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, Oxford University Press, 1960. (vi) Jack Goday and S.J. Tambiah, *Bridewealth and Dowry*, Cambridge, 1973. (vii) Promilla Kapur, *Changing Status of Working Women*, Vikas, 1974. (viii) *Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India*, Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 1974.

This list is an indicative only and not exhaustive.

writes Mr. S.K. Rao, "that a people who worship woman as *shakti*, the all pervading force, do not welcome the birth of a daughter in the family; the idea of dowry haunts the parents right from the birth till the girl is given away in marriage. Everybody curses dowry but moves heaven and earth either to give or to grab it. In the Vedic age, dowry was unknown for the simple reason that women enjoyed equal status with men. The very fact that marriage was known in days gone by as *kanyadana* indicated that it had been far from the evil of dowry. He who accepts a gift is not expected to impose conditions or demand any particular type of gift. The institution of dowry is a later day innovation."⁶

It would be interesting to look to the origin of *varadakshina* or *dana* accompanying a wedding. There is no doubt that, as in today, the desire to have a male child was a supreme consideration that actuated a man to take a wife. The *Shastras* which enjoined rigorously the rule of marriage strictly within castes slackened in the case of a man to marry below his caste for the procreation of a male child. Woman was denied this right because the credit of begetting a child goes to father alone. It is for the same reason why a man was allowed to take a second wife when his first wife failed to bear a male child. It was this over-emphasis on male child that a female child was relegated to a secondary position in the family. The father of a marriageable girl would always be solicitous of prospective bridegroom and his parents and relatives so that his daughter was accepted as a bride. The solicitous father would ensure the chance of a good matchmaking with inducements of good and attractive presents to the prospective son-in-law. Dowry is the outcome of this solicitude.

In medieval India, two more facets of dowry became evident—protection and mobility in social status. First, there was the risk of being neglected because of her failure to bear a son leading her husband to take a second wife. The *stridhana*, the property, she brings from her parents, provides her protection and security when she is deserted by her unfeeling husband. Her vulnerability increased when India was subjected to the succession of foreign invaders or marauders with their lustful eyes on unmarried Hindu women. The fathers were, therefore, always on the look out for strong husbands for their daughters to protect them from *malech-chas*, strangers of impure blood. This encouraged the practice of dowry of increasingly larger size. Second the inter-play of sub-castes and the desire to gain higher social status through marital linkages with higher castes and sub-castes also put a premium on dowry.⁷ Attractive offer of dowry always acted as a strong inducement to scions of families of higher social hierarchy to condescend to select their brides from among the highest bidders. Parallel instances from European societies can be cited of a scion

⁶S.K. Rao, *Searchlight*, November 12, 1976.

⁷Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture*, Vikas, 1976.

or an impoverished Earl having married the daughter of a rich fisherman or leather merchant.

There are also economic implications involved in the practice of dowry. Until recent years, members of the upper strata of society had been following the shastric dictum that a woman was never free and independent. She was dependent either on her father or husband or son who provided her physical protection and social security, and she, in her turn, provided her with comfort at home. She was, therefore, never considered capable of economic benefit to the family which depended on the male breadwinners. Her world was naturally confined to the four walls of the house in which she found herself as daughter, wife or mother. In such a social environment, women's inheritance to property was unthinkable in all patrilineal communities.⁸ It was only in matrilineal societies where the women enjoyed property rights and consequent freedom and independence. But even in such cases, she was limited in her freedom by the weakness of her sex and she needed protection by men.

The inheritance question was avoided by the institution of dowry, also designated as *stridhana*. Originally it was an earmarked portion of father's property or an amount of money or jewellery to the daughter in lieu of her share in the property, and to stand her in good stead in times of need. But in course of time, it degenerated into the form of dowry, not given to the daughter, but to the son-in-law for consideration of the marriage. Dowry in one form or another is practised, not only by Hindus, but also by Muslims and Christians in India. Although Muslim bridegroom promises a handsome *mehr* or money as a part of marriage contract, known as *jode-ke-paise*, or the cost of the bridal outfit, it runs into quite a few thousand rupees. It is also prevalent among orthodox Christians of Kerala and Catholics of Mangalore and Goa, in that all expenses of both the parties to the marriage are borne by the bride's people. The Christians of Mangalore still follow their pre-conversion custom of *kanyadan* and gift-giving that puts a heavy burden on the bride's family.

The practice of bride price followed by certain communities is certainly not as ruinous as dowry. It is confined to certain sections of Harijans and other backward communities and among tribals, but it is rated lower in the social system even among its practising tribes. With education and economic progress, bride price is being gradually replaced by dowry even among them. It may be stated here that the concept of accepting a woman as an equal partner with man is more in practice among the communities where the custom of bride price is prevalent.⁹ In

⁸In more than one place in the later Vedic literature we come across the view that women have no right of inheritance, *Taittiriya Samhita*, Vol. 5, 8, 2. *Satapatha Brahmana*, quoted in A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁹Jack Goody and S.J. Tambiah, *Bride Wealth and Dowry*, Cambridge, University Press, 1973.

these communities a woman is not an economic burden and enjoys relative freedom and independence, compared to their counterparts in the upper social strata.

Property inheritance right has been legally granted to women, although in practice it has not helped much in making them economically independent. The index of women's emancipation, it has been rightly said, is their employment, although this view is not universally accepted. A woman with her delicate frame and nimble finger is created for the special jobs within her home, they insist and conclude that since the job of child-bearing and child-rearing is her reserve, she is never intended to go out of her kitchen only to contribute to the family's kitty. But today women are increasingly entering professions like medicine, higher teaching, law and engineering and have invaded such man's preserve as highway truck driving, armed forces and even space travel.¹⁰

It is known that many women take up jobs to help them save enough for dowry for their marriages.¹¹ Even if a working woman cannot bring dowry, her employment is considered enough compensation in certain cases where such women are preferred for marriage. In a few cases jobs are taken up for leading a life of independence of self-actualisation or escaping boredom. Most jobs by women are, however, taken up to augment family income. In almost all such cases, a working women can never overcome her sub-servience in the natal or anti-natal family. This is to say that woman's employment is not enough for her emancipation. But this is also true that compared to the status of non-working women, the working women do enjoy more comforts, if not freedom.

Since the early days of the freedom struggle, Gandhiji emphasised that for the realisation of the objectives of Swaraj women must be given equal status with men.¹² His call for women's emancipation drew a group of

¹⁰Professional women: a career break-up.

(i) Distribution of women workers according to 1971 Census (in thousands):

<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Service</i>
25,060	3,307	2,931
80.1%	10.3%	9.4%
Female workers		Total
Population		
11.86%		17.35%

Pocket book of population statistics census centenary 1972.

(ii) *Report of the Committee on the Status of Women*, pp. 152, 157, 161, 214.

¹¹Scanning of matrimonial advertisement columns of the *Hindustan Times* would confirm it also, S.L. Hooja, *op. cit. Report of the Committee on the Status of Women, op. cit.*

¹²M.K. Gandhi, *To the Women*, Navjivan Publication; M.K. Gandhi, *Young India*, February 26, 1918; October 17, 1929; January 14, 1932; February 24, 1946.

dedicated women with discipline and high ideals. In spite of the vast number of women in Indian society continued to suffer from lurking fear and anxiety, slavery, insecurity and loneliness. With the attainment of freedom, women were given full facilities of citizens and conferred equal status with men by the Constitution. But with the old values and norms of the existing social order the Constitutional provision did not give full meaning to the life of women.

The Hindu Code Bill was a comprehensive document guaranteeing the implementation of various legislative measures in the direction of women's emancipation. These measures were the special marriage and divorce act, abortion act, adoption act, minimum wages act, suppression of immoral traffic act, maternity benefit act, and dowry prohibition act. All these legal measures are meant to unshackle woman from the tyrannies of age-old social customs and superstitions, values and to help her achieve untrammelled development along with men.

The earliest legislation against dowry in this sub-continent was passed in the pre-independence day by the Government of Sind, now in Pakistan. The Bill was piloted in 1946 by Dr. Hemchandra Wadhani, a Minister of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah cabinet, and he was given full support by the Muslim dominated government, particularly the Amil community among the Sindhis. Supporting the move Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, a former Speaker of the State Assembly, made a poignant personal reference when she stated that she had to remain a spinster all her life because her father could not raise enough money for dowry for her marriage. Needless to say that this piece of legislation remained on paper because of lack of support in its implementation by those for which it was intended. Very few sons were found objecting to their parents offering dowry for the marriages of their sisters because they too were keen to get it when their turns came.

As marriage and divorce come under the concurrent list under the Constitution, the central legislation was enacted in 1961 and followed by the State Governments of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The Karnataka Anti-Dowry Bill was passed in 1976 and all other state laws were suitably amended in order to make giving, taking and abetting dowry a cognisable offence. A comprehensive central legislation to serve as a model to all state laws is on the anvil. The Karnataka Bill is the latest which extends the definition of dowry to include any financial help given by any person to a young man for his education or business with the intention of giving his daughter or any other relation in marriage to him. Under its provisions, no one except parents can give presents, however small, to the bridal couple and none can even 'cultivate' a prospective son-in-law by offering him money for any purpose with marriage in view.

Almost all amended state laws provide for imprisonment upto one year

with a fine upto Rs. 5,000 to any one who commits the offence under the anti-dowry laws. The amended West Bengal Act provides fine upto Rs. 10,000. The social feature of the Karnataka Bill is that it provides for the imposition of tax on ostentatious marriage ceremonies popularly known as 'luxury marriages'. A marriage costing more than Rs. 5,000 and upto Rs. 50,000 will be taxed at the rate of 10 per cent and a marriage costing more than Rs. 50,000 will be taxed at the rate of 60 per cent. All those liable to pay the tax will have to submit a return of expenses to a designated officer within seven days of the marriage. This has been proposed in order to discourage the giving of dowry and disproportionate display of wealth by the rich with deleterious effect on the society as a whole.

Whatever the purpose that it might have served at the time of its origin, dowry as it is practised today in Indian society has become an instrument of torture. Marriage according to Hinduism is a sacrament but dowry has degenerated it into a contract in the marriage market. It has also affected the non-Hindu communities for whom marriage is a social contract.

Under the marriage system in Indian society, a match is usually arranged by the parents of the girl. They take into consideration the financial and social position of the family of the prospective bridegroom, his physical appearance, educational standard, earning capacity and general character. In most cases of negotiated marriages, the boys and girls are not consulted about their preferences. The only change that has taken place in recent years is that the boys are allowed to see the girls before their marriages are performed. In some cases, negotiations may fail because of the disagreement by the boys about the choice of their brides. But in most cases, the consent of the girls is not taken and she is never consulted. For a right type of boy, the parents of the girl must be prepared to pay a handsome dowry.

According to the Committee on the Status of Women in India, the settlement of dowry has all the characteristics of a market transaction. "What was originally intended to be a token *dakshina* for the bridegroom has now assumed proportion". It is on the increase all over the country and has penetrated the communities and regions which did not practise it earlier. The enormity of dowry is felt in Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab where the standard amount of dowry for men in the IAS and IFS belonging to well-off communities is said to be minimum of Rs. 1,00,000 both in cash and kind. Business executives rank next and below them are engineers and doctors. After what they and their parents have spent on their education, they expect that marriage would bring them not only a partner in life, but also the things of modern life like a car, a refrigerator and a television set to start a household of their own. In cities like Bombay and Calcutta, residential accommodation is demanded in dowry.

Even in villages near Delhi, motor cars are demanded by prospective sons-in-law so that they can ply them as taxis.

The helpless father of the girl cannot refuse the demand of dowry for two reasons. First, no father would like his daughter would remain a spinster and face taunts, torture and even death at her father-in-law's house. Secondly, being basically tradition-bound the father would not also like to entertain the idea of giving his daughter in marriage to a boy of low caste who might be willing to accept her without dowry. It has always been a point of pride for a father to be able to pay adequate dowry at his daughter's marriage, and for this he may starve his family and beg, borrow or steal. Many a family has been ruined by mortgaging family property and incurring heavy debts only to raise enough money for dowry. It is only in exceptional cases where the girl is extraordinarily beautiful or talented, or the boy is enlightened or the families are inspired by social reformers that a marriage may be held without dowry. These are just flashes of silver lining in the dark clouds that overcast the Indian society. The Committee on the Status of Women in India has collected numerous instances of torture and humiliation of young women in their in-laws' houses. The situation sometimes becomes so intolerable that they are driven to suicide in order to end their sufferings.¹³

The press has been always reporting about cases of torture, desertion and murder of young women and in the wake of anti-dowry campaign in the last two years these have attracted public attention and created their great indignance throughout the country. One typical case is given here to illustrate how the young women are humiliated, tortured and murdered only because the husbands and in-laws have felt that marriage contract has been violated by giving them inadequate dowry.

This is a most shocking case about the murder of Meera reported from Lucknow by the *Indian Express* on December 23, 1976. The case involved three accused, Ashok, a 26-year old assistant engineer, his 70-year old father, Rajendralal, a retired teacher, and his 35-year old widowed sister Sudha Srivastava. They were sentenced for life by Mr. K.M. Pandey, the Additional District and Sessions Judge. Meera (20) was beaten up, strangled and burnt to death by the three accused one year after her marriage with Ashok, on the night of July 20, 1974 for non-payment of the desired amount of dowry by her father. The counsel for defence prayed for lesser punishment and made his submission that Rajendralal was a 70-year old retired teacher having been Head of the Department of Economics of Harish Chandra Degree College at Varanasi. His daughter, Sudha Srivastava was a widow with two children, and Ashok had already lost his wife through his own act. On the other hand,

¹³Report of Suicide Enquiry Committee, Gujarat, 1960-64, Mrs. Manmohini Sehgal led delegation to Lt. Governor of Delhi to seek protection for the girls persecuted for bringing in less dowry, as reported in the *Hindustan Times*, February 4, 1977.

the counsel for the prosecution demanded extreme penalty because the murder was premeditated and the circumstantial evidence was as good as direct evidence. Meera was a pretty looking student of M.A. (Previous) in Banaras Hindu University when she was married to Ashok on May 13, 1973. After the marriage, Rajendralal demanded a sum of Rs. 4,000 to make up for the deficiency in dowry. Though Meera's father I.P. Srivastava presented a refrigerator and a radiogram, he failed to satisfy the accused and the girl was taunted, ill-treated and beaten up.

Commenting on the motive of the crime, the judge observed. "Dowry has been a social evil in this country for several centuries. Human tears have failed to satisfy this devil and now it has started demanding human blood. Even the lives of numberless young girls have failed to quench the thirst of this monster. It is high time that this evil is fought at social plane as well as the state and the final death blow is given before it completely eats away the vitality of the society".

The campaign against dowry that was launched recently did not sustain for long, because of the inherent defects of all such campaigns which were overshadowed by politics. The reports of mass rallies addressed by Mrs. Gandhi and in which hundreds of young boys and girls had taken their pledge not to accept or allow dowry in their families and communities may have been played up in the press which was under total censorship and although a social revolution cannot be fostered under controlled conditions, the stirrings it had created need to be contained rather than dissipated.

There is no doubt that dowry is very much alive and active as ever, despite the Youth Congress campaign and despite legislatively prohibiting it. It has changed its form and gone underground. According to a survey conducted by the middle of October, 1976, not a single person was prosecuted under the anti-dowry law anywhere in the country, and since then, according to another source, there were only four reported cases of prosecution in 1976. A few more cases were reported in the beginning of the year 1977.

Dowry is a social evil, and as stressed by Mr. Pandey in delivering his judgement in the Meera murder case, it must be fought on a social plane. Legislation is merely a political action that may facilitate a social action. Indian society is, as a whole, bedevilled by outdated customs and ruinous practices, and the evil must be exercised by a strident social action. Dowry is only one of the many evils that are embedded in our entire social system, and all of them must be attacked simultaneously at all fronts to remove them lock, stock and barrel. This cannot be done by a campaign which is always ad hoc in nature and, therefore, shortlived, in its effect. For this, a crusading social movement must be mounted all over the country.

The crusade must begin with the origin of dowry, that is the most elaborate ostentations and fortuous system of marriage, and it must knock

it out of its foundation. A marriage is essentially a social function uniting two persons as partners in life. As such, the choice of partners should be based on the present and emerging social moods, and all religious numbo-jumbo should be avoided. Its ceremony should be simple and inexpensive so that it does not cause economic setback to the families concerned.

Education is supposed to be a fore-runner of social reform. Unfortunately in this country, education itself is in dire need of reform. So it is house looking at it as a positive factor. In India, most of the outdated social customs and superstitions have been sustained by the educated sections who are blindly followed by the less educated and uneducated in society. It is not, therefore, the degrees and doctorate, but the degree and depth of enlightenment with a dynamic social outlook and heady idealism that must pervade and permeate all sections of population in society. There has been a lot of thinking on making education relevant and purposeful to real life. The results of this thinking reflecting the volume of reports have not been put to proper use in the absence of an all embracing social movement with the young on its vanguard.

One of the features of the dowry prohibition legislations is the provision of social welfare organisations to play an effective role in checkmating the devil of dowry. The West Bengal Act provides that voluntary social welfare organisation with a five years standing would accept complaints and investigate the cases for reconciliation if possible, and prosecution if necessary. The law has by this recognised the importance of a voluntary agency in this field. The social movement that we have spoken about in the foregoing pages must be linked with a network of such voluntary social welfare organisations. It is necessary to have at least a couple of such organisations in a district with their centres spread over to villages. All such organisations must be under the guidance of experienced social workers with no political affiliations, and local educational institutions, bar associations, chambers of commerce and industry, labour unions, cultural societies, political parties and other groups and members of public opinion should be intimately associated with these organisations to create the social movement.

It was emphasised by Gandhiji over and over again that there must be a continuous constructive work movement in order to achieve the goal of human emancipation. When such a constructive movement becomes a revolution, it reaches milestone in its onward progress. The commendable beginnings made by the recent campaign can be raised to the level of a social revolution on the ground with the active but voluntary support by the people and spearheaded by the youth.

Justice Rangarajan says¹⁴ if legislation is completely against social mores, it is hardly effective. One has to think more of the enforcement of such legislation, much more than of its educational value. But more for educative purposes, much greater and more intensive efforts will be necessary, and even then quick results will not be achieved. It is well-known that any social change that relies purely on education will skip at least one generation. Habits and tradition die hard. If social evil, such as dowry, is to be eradicated some drastic steps would be required. Such steps may include raids on premises where marriages take place, thorough searches, and insistent examination of all those concerned. Social reform required a determined political will and, of course, a social consciousness of the evil. He sums up by quoting Dror "Social changes and changes in the law are constant and interacting processes, present to a considerable extent in all contemporary societies". By examining and defining the conditions under which law can induce social change and by emphasising the limits upon the use of law to induce social change, a significant contribution can be made to the development of law-making as a main object of policy studies. ■

¹⁴S. Rangarajan, *Legislation and Social Change: Hindu Family Law in Social Legislation in India*, Vol. II (ed.) by K.D. Gangrade, Concept, Delhi 1978, pp. 14-15.

Implementation of Social Legislation Pertaining to Scheduled Castes in Gujarat

Harshad R. Trivedi
Satish K. Bhakta

HUMAN societies everywhere in the world have passed through various stages of social developments. Every human society is a complex entity of social, political, economic and cultural dimensions of life styles. The human family even under the present atomic age continues to be the centre of human development in the form of integrated and symbiotic social relationships. Every society faces the problem of constantly making efforts to see that various families distributed into the diverse stratification in the social systems confirms to the development of the total social system. In spite of high idealism conceived and nourished by social thinkers in a society with regard to social development, there are a number of families composing various kinds of social groups which lag behind more advanced and developed social groups. The whole history of mankind is replete with instances of differentiation in the spheres of political, economic and social developments, although integration and symbiotic social developments have been the ideal.

In India with its rich cultural heritage we find a special kind of social stratification developed in the form of Hindu caste system. This caste system may not go far beyond in time in the form in which it exists today but it affects the organisation and lives of social groups and families not only of Hindus, but also of most of the minority communities who live together with one another from generation to generation.

There are a number of minority communities in India but all of them are not depressed or deprived of facilities for social development as compared to the untouchable communities who have been classified as scheduled castes by the Constitution of India after independence. While discussing the implementation of social legislation pertaining to

scheduled castes in Gujarat, this paper shall initially throw some light on the general information indicating the consciousness developed among the caste Hindus and various other leaders who actively plunged into the movement of national liberation from the British rule. Reference will also be made to some of the government regulations of the British rulers which tried to help the untouchables in establishing their independent entity and freedom from discrimination prevalent in those days. Not only this, some princely rulers such as Sayaji Rao Gaekwad-III of the ex-princely state of Vadodra had taken steps even earlier to the Britishers for improvement of socio-economic status of the scheduled castes in his State. The paper shall deal with the role of various agents of social change spearheading social reforms towards the upliftment of the scheduled castes in general which will be followed by as far possible detailed discussions on some of the important constitutional provisions for protection of the rights and privileges of the untouchables and the implementation of related legislative measures in Gujarat.

THE IDEA OF UNTOUCHABILITY, SCHEDULED CASTES IN GUJARAT AND CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

"It appears that the term 'untouchable' in common parlance, refers to those people whom Mahatma Gandhi, indentified as Harijans. But when we use the term scheduled castes, it is not necessary that all or most of them so referred to are untouchables or Harijans.".... "In brief, all Harijans may be scheduled castes but all scheduled castes may not be Harijans or untouchables".¹ Broadly speaking, the group of people who are identified as untouchable in Gujarat are Bhangi, Chamar, Meghwal, Dhed, and a few other sub-groups of the same. The barbers, carpenters and blacksmiths are not treated untouchables in Gujarat, although some of them are associated with the concept of pollution and defilement as service castes, in a limited context. In contrast to this, the concept of untouchability in Uttar Kashi district of Uttar Pradesh covers professionals like barbers, carpenters, blacksmith and cobblers. They are not only included in the wider group of scheduled castes but are accepted in the Harijan class. "In Madhya Pradesh, the scheduled caste groups of the satnami sect of chamars is not looked upon everywhere as untouchable. Of course, there are other groups of chamars in Madhya Pradesh who are rated lower in status than those who are the followers of the satnami sect."²

Notwithstanding these problems of finer distinctions between various groups of suppressed and depressed classes in our society, the Indian

¹Harshad R. Trivedi, *Scheduled Caste Women : Studies in Exploitation, Concept*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 19-21.

²*Ibid.*

Constitution has accorded recognition to the lists of scheduled castes recommended by different states and union territories.

According to the Fifth Schedule of our Constitution, scheduled castes are recognised and identified as weaker sections of our society. Special provisions, reservations, rules and regulations have come into force in all the states and union territories of India as per the provision in Article 46 of the Constitution. The provision says, "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations."

In Gujarat, 1971 census enumeration returned 42 specific individual scheduled castes with a population of 18,25,432 which formed 6.84 per cent of the total state population. Through the scheduled castes are found scattered over all districts of Gujarat, they are concentrated in Ahmedabad and Surendranagar districts with proportion of 10.93 per cent and 10.39 per cent respectively of the total district populations. In eleven out of 19 districts in the state, *viz.*, Banaskantha, Kutch, Mehsana, Sabarkantha, Amreli, Junagadh, Gandhinagar, Jamnagar, Rajkot, Kheda and Vadodara, the proportion of scheduled castes population range between 5 to 10 per cent of the total district population. In the districts of Bharuch, Bhavnagar, Panchmahals, Surat and Valsad, their proportion to total population was less than 5 per cent. However, their lowest proportion was in the tribal districts of Dangs (0.36 per cent). According to the revised figures the population of scheduled castes in Gujarat is 18.90 lakhs. Taking an overall view, the large majority (73 per cent) of scheduled castes population in the state live in rural areas. In Ahmedabad district, however, about 67 per cent of the scheduled castes of the district live in urban areas.

The single largest group of scheduled castes under the names of Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Vankar or Maru Vanker had a population of 5,70,256 which forms 27.95 per cent of all their population in the state according to the census of 1971. The second largest group was of Bhambi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamar Khalpa, Ranigar, Rohidas and Rohit who numbered 3,27,835 and accounted for 17.63 per cent of the total population of scheduled castes. There has been an overlapping of caste identifications at the time of enumeration, specially as a result of synonymous caste names, and so population of individual scheduled castes cannot be easily and exactly determined. In order of numerical strength, other important scheduled castes however are Vankar, Dhed or Antyaj, Meghwal, Shenva, Garoda and Nadia.

Before we come to discuss in detail, the impact of constitutional safeguards for the amelioration and all round upliftment of scheduled castes, it is essential to take a bird's eye-view of major efforts made for their

upliftment in Gujarat (formerly a part of Bombay Province) even prior to Independence in 1947.

EARLY ATTEMPTS TOWARDS THE UPLIFTMENT OF UNTOUCHABLES

As early as 16th and 17th century during Bhakti Movement, its saints and poets aimed at and emphasised upon the attainment of spiritual salvation and equality among the devotees called Bhaktas irrespective of their social status.³ Under the impact of Bhakti Movement, a few saints did hail from untouchable community who attained spiritual salvation and consequent equality with the high caste Hindu devotees. They were not treated as untouchables by devotees who were active members of the Bhakti Movement.

In the later period during the British Rule. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 gave severe blow to the cultural ethos of the Hindu caste system which intergated the untouchables in the Hindu fold. As per this Act, the changing of religion and caste by a Hindu become possible without losing one's ordinary rights to property through inheritance. The laws enacted under this act were equally made applicable to the untouchables, depressed castes or classes vis-a-vis high cast Hindus. Subsequently, the British Government announced a directive throwing open all public facilities, amenities, schools and such other things fully or partially funded by the Government, for all of its subjects irrespective of the distinction of caste, race or religion. In the year 1923 Bombay Legislative Council resolved, "The Council recommends that the untouchable classes be allowed to use all public watering places, wells and dharamshalas which are built and maintained out of public funds or administered by bodies appointed by Government or created by Government Statute, as well as public schools, courts, offices and dispensaries".⁴ As per the provision of Montagu Chelmsford Report, in the Provincial Legislative Council until 1935, there were separate electorates and reserved seats for the candidates from depressed classes. However, generally speaking, these directives and resolutions remained on paper.

Much before the British efforts to introduce social reforms for the untouchables in the territory comprising Bombay Province, the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III, the Ruler of the Princely State of Baroda (Vadodara) in Gujarat, had sponsored a laudable programme for the upliftment of the untouchables. Way back in 1883, the state had opened two schools to provide educational facilities to the untouchables — also called Antyaj in those days. The number of such schools rose to

³Ghanshyam Shah, *Politics of Schedule Castes and Tribes*, Vora, Bombay, 1975, p. 25.

⁴Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1971, p. 53.

201, catering to the needs of 18,388 students in 1930-31.⁵ Moreover, Boarding schools for Harijan children were also opened at Vadodara, Navsari, Patan and Amreli ruled by the state. This patriotic, benevolent and philanthropic ruler encouraged brilliant students among Harijan youths with a foresight and sent them for higher studies in foreign countries. One of the most outstanding beneficiary of this benevolence was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the father of the Indian Constitution and one of the most dedicated leaders who fought for the cause of Harijans as well as all other depressed communities. Along with the educational facilities, Maharaja Sayajirao also made provisions to absorb the educated untouchables in government services. Their number in 1934-35 was 1,573.

Sayajirao Gaekward III also looked into the matters of their economic betterment and saw to it that they are neither humiliated nor discriminated. To promote free social interaction between caste Hindus and Harijans, the Maharaja arranged community dinner parties for all his employees and subjects irrespective of social or caste status.

In the wake of Independence Movement, Mahatma Gandhi organised programmes of upliftment of untouchable and tribals and played a great role as a social reformer for the liberation of other depressed communities from social suppression and bondage. It is well-known that under his leadership, the Indian National Congress strived hard to elevate the status of these communities. In Gujarat, the work done by Harijan Sevak Sangh* and Harijan Ashram Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, is a glaring example of the all round efforts made for emancipation of Harijans from their age-old disabilities. Harijans and depressed classes communities and their leaders closely worked with other political leaders and got indoctrination to spearhead socio-economic reforms. They also used political power on the basis of their numerically small but decisive strength on a wider national arena. The political grooming and enlightenment of Harijans and their leaders along with that of the tribals fruited into the Constitutional provisions and safeguards which entailed opportunities for their upward mobility in the spheres of their economic, educational, social and political development.

⁵N. Arya, *Adhya Antyajoddharak Rajvi*, 1935.

*It may be noted that Mahatma Gandhi not only coined the term 'Harijan' (children of God Hari) but also named the weekly edited by him *The Harijan*, which was published in Gujarati and English and which was used by him and the Indian National Congress as a vehicle for expressing their ideas, grievances, constructive work and action programmes for the liberation of the masses of India from the suppression and oppression of the British Rule. *The Harijan Weekly* thus became a symbol of the liberation movement not only of the Harijan communities in India but also of the Nation.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES AND
PROMOTION OF WELFARE

The important Constitutional provisions and their implementation in Gujarat have been listed below in eight points and later elaborated in serial order. It is needless to emphasise that most of the provisions are commonly applicable to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in India.

- Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth: Article 15 (applicable to SC and ST),
- Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment: Article 16 (applicable to SC and ST).
- Abolition of untouchability: Article 17.
- Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour. This safeguard is relevant to many instances of bonded labour: Article 23 (applicable to SC and ST).
- Protection of interest of minorities/religion, race, caste, language, with no bar to admission in educational institutions: Article 29 (applicable to minority communities).
- Promotion of educational and economic interests of SC/ST and other weaker sections: Article 46.
- Equal justice and free legal aid and protection against atrocities: Article 39.
- Reservation of Seats for SC/ST in the House of the People: Article 330; and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States: Article 332.

The implementation of the above constitutional provisions has been enhanced by the appointments of the commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and the institution of various commissions from time to time under the Article 338 and Article 340 respectively.

It has to be taken for granted that to facilitate the work of statutory legislation and enactment and their effective implementation, the above provisions are given prime importance in our Constitution. In 1950, the Presidential order has specified various castes and tribes as SC/ST. This list has been revised in case of Gujarat by the Bombay Reorganisation Act 1960. The Registrar General of Census operations in India has also a right to determine the population of SC/ST as per Notified Revisions in the earlier lists. In case of Gujarat, scheduled caste population at first count in 1971 was decided as 18.26 lakhs, but as per a revised notification by the Registrar General, it stood at 18.90 lakhs.

The Government authorities at the district, taluka and village levels are required to issue certificates to persons of SC communities for becoming eligible to avail of special privileges conferred upon them. In Gujarat,

even a sarpanch of an village panchayat has a authority to issue such certificates.

Equality of Opportunity in Matters of Public Employment

Reservations for SC in services and posts in public sector industries, nationalised banks and government administration have been made under this regulation. State level figures for public sector and nationalised Banks for Gujarat are not available. However, it may be noted that the Government of Gujarat have reserved 5 and 7 per cent of all services of classes I to II and III to IV for scheduled caste candidates respectively. As a result of this, in January 1975, 1.5 per cent and 3.5 per cent seats/posts for class I and II, respectively were occupied by scheduled castes in government services. But, this was much less than the target set for. On the other hand, instead of 7 per cent reservation in class III, their candidates had occupied 8.7 per cent of the posts. In the case of class IV, they occupied an enormous increase of posts amounting to 70.7 per cent.

During the year 1976 the state employment exchanges recorded 26,508 Registrations for the placement in jobs. Of these applications, 1910 placements in all were effected. The employment exchanges were also instrumental in issuing notifications of as many as 546 reserved vacancies of which 262 were filled in. In fact, the general overall slow rate of development has affected the employment opportunities available to the people at large. It has affected the scheduled castes candidates also. During the reference year, 51,349 live registers were opened for SC candidates to be employed through employment exchange.

Abolition of Untouchability

The scourge of untouchability is still routed in our society and it is being practised in varying degrees in private and public spheres of life. It still persists as a social evil from the humanitarian point of view. Even after independence, untouchability has been observed for access to drinking water sources and access to tea stalls and restaurants.

A recent empirical study in rural Gujarat has revealed that untouchability with regard to rights to have water facilities, temple entry, house of high caste entry, shop entry, giving and receiving things in the shops by touch of hand, paying the wages, agricultural work situation in the field, services of barber, potter, etc., were denied to the untouchables in more than 60 per cent of the 69 sample villages. With regard to services of tailor and sitting arrangement in the Panchapat meetings, untouchability was practised in 31 per cent and 47 per cent respectively in the sample villages.⁶

In the matter of discrimination of scheduled castes in drawing water

⁶I.P. Desai, *Untouchability in Rural Gujarat*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1976.

from village public wells open to all villagers, the authorities like office-bearers and government servants of Panchayats overlook the complaints made by Scheduled castes. According to 24th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period 1975-76, as many as 180 office bearers and government servants, such as Sarpanch (76), Deputy Sarpanch (14), Talati-cum-Mantri (40) and Police Patel (50) were suspended in Gujarat for offences of untouchability. This Report further adds, "The action taken by the State Government is commendable and other State Governments should also take immediate steps to ensure that all public wells are thrown open to all scheduled castes".⁷

It is well known that untouchability has been associated with the concept of purity and impurity of the occupational activity of these castes. Tanning and cleaning hides, scavenging, sweeping, garbage and refuse collection and such other activities have been considered as unclean and impure tasks. With the improvement of technology in material handling and its application as well as protective safety measures adopted by various Local-Self-Governments, these tasks are no more looked upon as dreadful, inhuman or dirty. With the financial assistance from the Government, the Safai Vidyalaya, Harijan Ashram (Harijan Sevak Sangh) Ahmedabad, in coordination with Municipal and Panchayati Raj institutions have converted 1,38,196 dry latrines into water seal latrines during the period 1964-65 to 1978-79. However, there are still an estimated number of 36,758 dry latrines awaiting conversion into waterseal latrines. In any case, Bhangi Mukti Programme in Gujarat is forging ahead.

The state government has recently opened two Harijan cells to tackle the problems of Harijans. The Government also encourages intercaste marriages with the members of scheduled castes by offering financial assistance of Rs. 5000 to the couple concerned. It is, however, sad to note that prevalence of practice of untouchability among some of the Harijan caste groups themselves, functions as one of the obstacles against the removal of untouchability from the society as a whole.

Prohibition of Forced Labour/Bonded Labour

Bonded labour is a vestige of a feudal society and it is based on archaic slave trade in human society. It is also connected with indebtedness, old customs or social obligations, and passes on to the descendants of the slaves through succession. Bonded labour in this form is not prevalent in the state except perhaps in the case of a few unnoticed instances which are not brought to the books.

Protection and Promotion of Interest in Educational and Economic Field

All educational institutions are open to the students of scheduled castes

⁷Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Part-I, 24th Report, p. 104, 1975-76.

in the state. For higher education in medicine and training in technical fields, where competition for getting admission is tough, SC/ST students are admitted in colleges with relaxed qualifying standards. This is done in the light of provision made for the reservation of seats for scheduled caste students. Training courses and other technical courses at various levels are also retained in various institutions.

Government of Gujarat earmarked Rs. 193.77 lakhs to be spent on education of scheduled castes in the Fifth Plan Outlay. During the year 1976-77, the state government incurred an expenditure of Rs. 40 lakhs against the outlay of Rs. 25.95 lakhs.

Special enrolment drives for admission to scheduled castes/scheduled tribes children in primary schools have become a permanent feature in the State. In 1974-75 as many as 2,84,363 scheduled caste children were admitted in Class I to IV. In other words, 97 per cent of all the children in the age group of 6-11 years were enrolled. This proportion was less by 5 per cent, i.e., 92 per cent for the year 1973-74 for the same age group and enrolment in the same classes. The percentage of enrolment of scheduled caste children for Classes IX and above in the age group 14-17 years for the year 1973-74 was 15.2, but in 1974-75, it reached upto 18 per cent. It is evident that the literacy rate and its level has been going up gradually among the scheduled castes in Gujarat.

In retrospect, the census of 1971 indicated that the overall literacy rate between the last two censuses has recorded higher growth of literacy for scheduled castes than that of the general population. The literacy rate for the year 1961 and 1971 was recorded at 30.45 and 35.79 per cent respectively for general population as compared to literacy rate of scheduled castes which was 22.44 and 27.74 per cent respectively. For the general population, literacy rate over the decade 1961-1971 was increased by 5.3 per cent whereas for scheduled castes, it was increased by 5.28 per cent.

Special hostels numbering 168, exclusively for the needs of 7001 scheduled castes inmates, were either run or liberally financed by the state government. Moreover, the state government spent Rs. 0.30 lakhs for construction of girls hostels in the year 1975-76. Anticipated expenditure for the same for 1976-77 was estimated to be Rs. 1.30 lakhs.

Twenty post-matric scholarships to children of scavengers of dry latrines and tanners were also allotted. According to the state government Budget for the year 1979-80, it has been envisaged to provide school uniforms, text books and scholarships to 11,123 Bhangi children reading in standard I to VII. The state government has also been providing free text books and uniforms, examination fees, pre-matric and post-matric scholarships to all deserving and eligible children from socio-economically backward class communities including scheduled castes/scheduled tribes.

It may be noted that reserved seats in Medical colleges had remained unutilised by the scheduled castes during the year 1975-77 as per the

report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The state government has also made provisions for special coaching facilities to prepare the IAS candidates from scheduled tribes/scheduled castes. The number of scheduled castes apprentices under training in the state in various designated trades was 335 as on January, 1977 of which 16 were graduate and Diploma holder apprentices.

Economic Interest

Majority of the scheduled castes living in the rural areas are engaged in agriculture. According to the census of 1971, out of 32.97 per cent recorded as workers, 6.05 per cent and 15.36 per cent schedule caste persons worked as cultivators and landless agricultural labourers respectively. Their proportion as workers in the industrial categories of secondary sector is higher as compared to the corresponding figures for the general population with special reference to household industries. This is because they are also found to be engaged in many other traditional occupations such as weaving, tanning and cleaning of hides, making palm leaf mats, brooms and such other articles. As cultivators, they are generally small and marginal farmers while others are simply tenants with uneconomic holdings. Their demand for safeguarding their occupancy rights and rights as tenants are looked into sympathetically by the State Revenue authorities and special revenue and tenancy courts.

Protection Against Atrocities, Equal Justice and Free Legal Aid

According to the report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1976-77 (p. 107) during the implementation of 20 point programme as well as other progressive measures by the then Central Government in favour of scheduled castes/Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections, the pent up anger of the vested interest had erupted in the form of harrasment and atrocities on scheduled castes/scheduled tribes.*

Unfortunately in the Gujarat of today, cases of atrocities on Harijans are on the increases. In 1975, 184 cases were reported. The figure rose to 203 in 1976 as per the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes 1975-77. Again during 1977-78, 409 cases of atrocities

*"Eminent economists such as K.N. Raj, V.K.R.V. Rao, Minhas, Dandekar and Rath have shown that planning has hit the poor and they have become indeed poorer. The way modern education, technology and legislation have been initiated, has led to the breeding of inequality. The rich can escape and the poor can be trapped. Consequently the Dalit Panthers, the Chamars and Harijans are beaten, their houses are burnt and their womenfolk are molested and raped by the landlords and other caste Hindus. These victims are not the well-off Harijans, Harijan leaders and the Harijan white collar job doers. In fact, they are the people who could not have proper education, could not migrate to Urban centres for better prospects, and who could not escape the fury of the landed interest". (K.L. Sharma, Seminar, No. 243, November, 1979, p. 23.)

on Harijans were registered and in the clashes with caste Hindus, 19 persons were killed. As reported in the National News Service, between January 1, to July 31, 1978, 26 cases murder and 6 cases of rape of schedule caste persons were registered in Gujarat. In view of this, the government allotted Rs. 1.03 lakhs to sanction grants to the scheduled caste/scheduled tribe victims of atrocities.

In response to the complaints pertaining to practice of untouchability, ill-treatment, and atrocities on Harijans, two special cells have been opened (as mentioned before) in the Police Department, one at Vadodara and another at Gandhinagar. Each of these Harijan Cells are headed by the Deputy Superintendent of Police. The State Government have also decided to give free legal aid to 130 cases of the Harijans and make requisite budgetary allocations during the year 1978-80, and have set up the machinery to provide this help to Harijans concerned.

Reservation of Seats for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and Legislative Assembly of the State

With regard to the information on existing seats on the basis of Delimitation Order (Amendment) Act. 1976, as per proposal of Election Commission, it can be said that two Harijan seats for the House of People and 13 Harijan seats for State Legislative Assembly have been reserved and are in operation in Gujarat.

Reservation of seats for scheduled caste/Scheduled Tribes candidates proportionate to population concentration in local self-government such as municipal corporation, municipality, nagar panchayat, jilla, taluka and village panchayats are also made. The well-off Harijans also contest the elections in cooperative societies. Political participation of Harijan leaders in the activities like public meetings, procession, door to door campaign (Lok Sampark), distribution of party literature, canvassing, raising financial contributions have increased greatly. Besides, the exercise of franchise by individual Harijans has considerably gone up which has a definite role to play in politicisation and political awareness among Harijans. In brief, the Harijans have clearly realised the significance and importance of their decisive political strength. According to Ghanshyam Shah, "they do not enjoy political power as much as the caste Hindus, even in predominantly tribal areas. In the village panchayat the position of Harijan members is more or less nominal. They hardly get a share in decision-making process of the panchayat."⁸

SCHEDULED CASTES DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION AND OTHER MEASURES

In the foot-steps of the Tribal Development Corporation functioning

⁸Ghanshyam Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

in the state from 1976-77, the Scheduled Castes Development Corporation has been recently established. The Scheduled Castes Development Corporation is busy in finalising specific projects and schemes for the welfare of the Harijans of Gujarat.

Even though constitutionally it is not obligatory on the state government, representation of scheduled castes/scheduled tribes in the state cabinet of ministers has already been made, and a special minister in charge of the welfare of scheduled castes/scheduled tribe is appointed as a matter of routine.

The state government has made a total outlay of Rs. 155.64 lakhs, i.e., 43.72 lakhs for education, Rs. 83.72 lakhs for economic development and Rs. 28.20 lakhs for health, housing and allied activities exclusively for Harijans for the year 1979-80. Harijan Cooperative Housing Societies (26) have been assigned to get financial assistance as per the target and outlay of funds for the same period. Separate figures for SC and ST for allotment of house sites for landless and weaker sections are not available. According to the combined figures, as reported by the Commissioner for SC/ST, however, 2,80,000 house-sites were allotted to members of these communities till the reporting period of 1975-77.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

The overall picture of the implementation of social legislations for scheduled castes in Gujarat suggests, that their interests are not neglected at all by the government. The government is wide awake towards their problems and have taken pains for their overall upliftment. Adequacy of actual measures taken against urgent requirements and speedier, prompt, efficient and timely implementation of programmes is, however, the most pertinent problem encountered by the government machinery.

The other emerging problem of the Harijans is internal to the community itself. Poorer and weaker sections of the community need to be protected from exploitative persons in the emerging Harijan elites. This evil of internal exploitation of the helpless scheduled caste communities is an off-shoot of the existing socio-economic system and pattern involving relatively complex division of labour and diversification of occupations. The exploitation by well-off Harijans as well as by non-Harijans may not be a new phenomenon as can be surmised from some of the contents presented in *Exploitation of Scheduled Caste Women*.⁹ In what way and when the social legislation for the upliftment of scheduled caste communities shall deliver the desired goal needs to be watched with care and concern. □

⁹Harshadi, R. Trived, *op. cit.*

Planning Strategy for Tribal Development in Retrospect and Prospect : A Mid-term Appraisal

Bhupinder Singh

THE road to integrated planning for tribal development has been long and arduous. Even now, integrated planning can scarcely be regarded as having been fully grounded. For a long time, tribal development programmes remained either confined to within the four corners of one sector of a state's budget (the backward classes welfare sector) or encysted in the rigid schematic framework of a development block. At other times, the two were simultaneously in operation, more or less compartmentalised. Only with the beginning of the fifth five year plan, the sectoral barriers could be transcended and it started acquiring broad inter-sectoral integrated approach.

It is well-known that the strategy for integrated development led to the launching of the tribal sub-plan concept in the fifth plan period. Three basic parameters of the tribal situation in the country were recognised in the formulation of the concept. First, that there is variation in the social, political, economic and cultural milieu among the different scheduled tribe communities in the country; second, that their demographic distribution reveals their concentration in parts of some states and dispersal in others; further, that the primitive tribal communities live in secluded regions. Hence, the broad approach to tribal development has to be related to their level of development and pattern of distribution. In pre-dominant tribal regions, area approach with focus on development of tribal communities has been favoured, while for primitive groups community-oriented programmes have been preferred. For dispersed tribals, their participation in activities of rural development has been thought to be the apt developmental mechanism. For execution of

programmes having the integrated thrust, pooling of finances from all sources has been regarded as an essential requisite.

CONSTITUTIONAL FRAME

In the words of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission headed by Shri U.N. Dhebar (1961), "the task that confronted the framers of the Constitution was... to devise a suitable formula which would protect the economic interests of the tribals, safeguard their way of life, and ensure their development so that they might take their legitimate place in the general life of the country" (para 4.12, p. 33).

Article 46 of the Constitution enjoins on the state to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Some other Articles enable the President to make arrangements for implementation of the objective set forth in Article 46. Article 244 empowers him to declare an area a scheduled area under the Fifth Schedule or the Sixth Schedule.

Article 339(2) lays down that the executive power of the union extends to the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes for the welfare of the scheduled tribes in the state. Further, paragraph 3 of part A of the Fifth Schedule provides that the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to the state as to the administration of scheduled areas. Article 275 provides for financial assistance to states for implementation of schemes of development of scheduled tribes and raising the level of administration in the scheduled areas. Articles 15, 16 and 19 make it possible while legislating on any matter to take into consideration the special conditions of tribals in the matter of enforcing the provisions relating to equality of all citizens.

It would, thus, appear that while the scheduled areas are to be administered as part of the state in which they are situated, wide powers have been conferred on the Governor in regard to their administration. He has been enabled to modify central and state laws in their application to them and to frame regulations for the peace and good government and, in particular, for the protection of the rights of tribals in land, allotment of waste land and their protection from money-lenders. However, he is required to consult the Tribes Advisory Council in the state in framing of these regulations. Notwithstanding the vesting of powers of such amplitude in Governors, land alienation continues to take place, usury is rampant and incidence of bonded labour does not appear to have substantially declined. *Prima facie*, while, elsewhere, it might be possible to blame defective policy formulation, the plenitude of laws and regulations

framed under the Fifth Schedule might point to implementational arena as the substantive cause of failure.

The state governments have often found it difficult to pay detailed and specific attention to the problems of development of the tribal areas. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Fifth Schedule and specific reference to governors therein, in point of fact that actual administration of the scheduled areas has been patterned no differently from those of other areas where implementation of Articles 154 and 163 of the Constitution has been shaped by the existing set-up envisaging vesting of executive authority fully in the Council of Ministers.

In the backdrop of the constitutional provisions, it is appropriate to examine the objectives, the approach and the strategy that have informed tribal development in post-independence era from time to time. The pronouncements of the different authorities are illuminating.

OBJECTIVES OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The Dhebar Commission defined the objective of development among tribals as "advancement and integration of tribals... The problem of problems is not to disturb the harmony of tribal life and simultaneously work for its advance".

With a view to clearing the confusion regarding the aim of tribal welfare policy created on account of the two different views that tribals should "develop along the line of their own genius" and that there should be rapid integration of tribal communities with the general population as recommended by the Dhebar Commission, the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes headed by P. Shilu Ao, at one time Chief Minister, Nagaland, in their Report (1969) observed that the progress was to be

achieved not by attempting to transform them overnight...into carbon copies of the sophisticated plainsmen but by fostering all that is good and beautiful in their culture—their aesthetic sense, their honesty, their zest for life, in other words, by a process of growth which has its roots in their traditions and by instilling in them a sense of pride in their heritage and a feeling of equality in place of the existing feeling of inferiority.

Spelling out the aim of the policy on tribal development, the Study Team suggested it as

...progressive advancement, social and economic, of the tribals with a view to their integration with the rest of the community on a footing of equality within a reasonable distance of time. Period has neces-

sarily to vary from tribe to tribe and while it may be 5 or 10 years in the case of certain tribes, more particularly the tribes who have come in contact with the general population by living in the plains, it may be two decades or more in the case of tribals who are still in the primitive food-gathering stage.

In "Guidelines for Tribal Sub-Plan 1978-83" (1978), the Planning Commission ruled long-term objectives of tribal development as

- (i) narrowing the gap between the level of development of tribal and other areas, and
- (ii) improving quality of life of the tribal communities.

This formulation may be regarded as laudable, except that 'quality of life' would need to be defined. Yet, one may feel relieved that the attempt at definition has not been pressed too far, for the question bristles with even philosophical difficulties. Its vagueness has led to diverse interpretations, the most convenient adopted by field agencies making it synonymous with economic betterment. This is the pitfall to steer clear of. The central problem of preservation of the individuality and personality of a scheduled tribe community while enabling it to advance on the road to socio-economic development will continue to engross the minds of administrators, planners, sociologists, philosophers. A solution is called for well before the impress of the individuality of a tribe is crased indelibly by the inexorable socio-economic forces.

A distinction may be drawn between the long-term and immediate objectives of tribal development. The immediate objectives have been envisaged as the elimination of exploitation, accelerating the pace of socio-economic development, building inner strength of the people and improving their organisation capability.

APPROACH TO TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes of the Committee on Plan Projects led by Shrimati Renuka Ray reviewed the tribal scene in the late fifties and remarked in its Report (July, 1959) that while each aspect of development was important in its own place, in actual operation no rigid order of priority was universally applicable. They took note of the fact that the felt needs of tribal communities vary from community to community. According to them, "... while there will be common agreement on highest priority to economic development, there will be wide differences on the question whether agriculture or forestry, handicrafts or village industries should constitute the main plank of economic development in a particular tribal area". The Team recom-

mended: (a) economic development and communication, (b) education, and (c) public health, as the overall order of priority. However, they stressed that the programme should be integrated based on agriculture, forestry, handicrafts and village industries, the degree of emphasis upon each of them being determined by a systematic survey of the needs and possibilities in each area.

Jointly sponsored and supported by the Ministry of Community Development and the Ministry of Home Affairs, from April, 1957 an integral programme of intensive development was initiated in the shape of special multi-purpose (SMP) blocks. The order of priority in terms of financial provisions in the SMP blocks was project headquarters Rs. 7 lakhs, irrigation, reclamation and soil conservation Rs. 4 lakhs, communications Rs. 4 lakhs, rural housing Rs. 2.5 lakhs, cooperation Rs. 2 lakhs, rural arts and crafts Rs. 2 lakhs, health and rural sanitation Rs. 2 lakhs, animal husbandry and agricultural extension Rs. 1.5 lakhs, education Rs. 0.75 lakhs, social education Rs. 0.75 lakhs, miscellaneous Rs. 0.50 lakhs. Commenting, the Team observed that "the scheme of budget allocation in the special multi-purpose blocks does not fit in with the programme requirements which is variable under diverse local conditions". Further, "the schematic budget, more or less, sets a pattern which tends to be rigid".

The Dhebar Commission made revealing observations when they touched on a vital aspect advocating "a balanced picture".

The stress on integrated approach is noteworthy. It permeates the report all through. Present-day rural development programmes do emphasise integrated and coordinated effort, but the requirement of all threads woven into a fine texture of development is nowhere so great as in the tribal areas. Indeed, the situation here is elemental, as in no other part of the country. The solutions should accord with it.

Apart from the 'integrated and planned approach' recommended by the Dhebar Commission, the report crystallised the idea of distinctive quantification of resources, whether of the state or central governments, for tribal areas.

The Ao Study Team made a review of the measures undertaken for tribal development during the course of the first three five year plans. It noted that during the first plan the main scheme undertaken related to education and economic development, improvement of roads and communications and provision of medical and public health facilities. In the second plan, the emphasis was on economic development like agriculture, cottage industries, forest cooperatives. In the third plan, the priorities were in the order of economic uplift, education and health, housing and communications. The Team was in broad agreement with the priorities adopted in the third plan recognising that deviation might be necessary in the light of needs disclosed by a socio-economic survey. Reiterating the

observations of the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes (SA & ST) Commission, the Team regretted that notwithstanding the fact that the attention of the state governments had been repeatedly drawn to the fact that the special provision in the plan for the scheduled tribes and other backward communities was not in lieu of the provisions in the general development programme but was intended to supplement it, no conscious attempt had been made by any of the state governments, with the solitary exception of Andhra Pradesh, to ensure that the tribals received a reasonable share of the benefits from the general development programmes to which they were legitimately entitled as citizens of the state. Even in Andhra Pradesh, the direction of the state government that 3 per cent of the total provisions of each department should be earmarked for the welfare of the scheduled tribes had largely been ignored and, broadly speaking, the planners in the states proceeded on the basis that the special provision was the only provision available to finance tribal development programmes. Further, they pressed that the recommendation of the SA & ST Commission that a non-lapsable tribal welfare fund should be constituted on the lines of the Central Road Reserve Fund.

The Team made an exercise of the provision of funds made for development of scheduled tribes during the first three Plans, its percentage relation to the total plan outlays, its utilisation, utilisation for ST development as percentage of the total expenditure in the plan period and the per capita utilisation. Table 1 herewith is based on the figures contained in their Report.

TABLE 1 TOTAL PLAN PROVISION AND EXPENDITURE INCURRED ON SCHEDULED TRIBES

(Rs. in crores)

Plan	Total Plan		Scheduled Tribes				
	Provision	Expenditure	Provision	Percentage to total plan provision	Expenditure	Percentage to total expenditure	Per capita expenditure
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
First	2,378	1,960	25.00	1.05	20.25	1.03	1.79
Second	4,800	4,672	47.00	0.98	43.93	0.94	3.90
Third	7,500	8,608	59.39	0.79	53.40	0.62	3.58

It is apparent that while the expenditure continued to rise from plan to plan, there was decline in terms of percentage of the total, *vide* column 7; the per capita expenditure increased from first to second plan showing a decline in the third plan. The Team remarked that it was difficult to

assess "with any degree of accuracy the success achieved in the implementation of measures formulated for the social and economic advancement of the tribals. . . . But even so there is a general consensus of opinion that the position of tribals has improved. . . ." The Team was unable to give clear verdict as to whether the progress was appreciable or only marginal.

In the background of the pronouncements of the two Study Teams of 1959 and 1969 and the SA & ST Commission 1961, the approach and policy were spelt out in the following words in the fourth Five Year Plan document for 1969-74:

1.35. The problems of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes have in addition some special features. The problem of scheduled tribes living in compact areas is essentially that of economic development of their areas and of integrating their economy with that of the rest of the country. The individual welfare approach or that of a schematic block is inappropriate in this case. Development plans must be formulated to suit the specific potentialities and levels of development of separate regions or areas.

In stating that the problem was essentially that of economic development of the tribal areas and of integrating their economy with the rest of the country, a simplified view of the situation seems to have been taken. However, the welfare and development of the backward classes, particularly the scheduled tribes, received fuller treatment later in chapter 21.

The fifth plan emphasised the allocations from the backward classes sector as additive to the allocation from the general sector. The second redeeming feature was that, in defining the strategy, protection from exploitation was indicated as the first step necessary for raising the economic condition of the tribals. The specific fields in which action was indicated were eviction and alienation, sealing down of debts, regulating money-lending and controlling the rate of interest. Legislative and executive measures were expressed as necessary, particularly removal of weaknesses in administrative machinery and loopholes in legislation.

Howsoever praiseworthy, these formulations led to little practical repercussions. On the eve of commencement of the fourth plan, 489 tribal development blocks had come into existence and these blocks were thought to be the most important programme for economic betterment of members of the scheduled tribes and intensive development of areas with large concentration of tribal population. The fourth plan envisaged extension of these blocks from 10 to 15 years and introduction of a stage III with an allotment of Rs. 10 lakhs per block for a five-year period. It was stipulated that there would be no further expansion of the TD Block until the existing ones got established. The document took note of the fact that of

Rs. 277 crores utilised for special programmes of welfare of backward classes, Rs. 150 crores were spent for the members of the scheduled tribes. In any event, despite some clear advance in conceptualisation it appears the fourth plan made little progress in the field of implementation.

Tribal development became synonymous with TD Blocks having pre-determined schematic budget. But, since the TD Block budget did not aim at any target-group, the programmes it sponsored became more or less general benefit programmes and the special schemes of the backward classes welfare sector the only tribal development programme.

At the time of consideration of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill by the Government of India, it was felt that a fresh approach to the problem of the weaker sections was necessary. An Expert Committee was set up in 1972 under the chairmanship of Dr. S C. Dube for advising on formulation of a new strategy during the Fifth Five Year Plan. In the context of the fact of a critical stage having been reached in tribal development and high priority being accorded to social justice in the new planning effort, the Committee defined the task of tribal development as social and economic development of the tribal people through fast and time-bound integrated area development and other programmes suiting the genius of the people, progressive elimination of all forms of exploitation and ensuring a move towards the goal of equality and justice. The corner stone of their recommendations was that tribal development could no longer be left "to be tackled piece-meal at the convenience of a multiplicity of organisations, subject to the availability of men and material and to the vagaries of out-of-context policy decision. Tribal development should be treated as an integral part of social and economic development for which a purposive leadership should come from the national level." There is need for defining national effort in concrete terms. Taking a closer look, this would be spelt as.

- (a) Tribal development should be coordinated by a central organisation and every department should accord it high priority.
- (b) The effort on the part of the centre and the states should be clearly indicated. Adequate central assistance should become available in areas for which the states were not able to assume responsibility.
- (c) Plans of the tribal majority states in the North-East of the country in effect are plans of tribal development. However, for other states which have a sizable tribal concentration, though in minority, special plans would need to be undertaken. Those blocks which have 50 per cent or more tribal concentration should be identified for undertaking the programme of tribal development.
- (d) In the latter set of states, the then existing tribal development

block should continue to be the smallest unit of development administration. The TD Blocks be grouped into compact development projects for the purpose of planning and execution. At high level, development regions, coterminus with tribal concentration belts in each state, should be created.

- (e) The traditional Panchayats of tribals be strengthened and assigned a progressively increasing role in modern economic and development activities.
- (f) All programmes aimed at minimising exploitation should have the highest priority.
- (g) On the whole, an integrated area development strategy in consonance with the development of people should be adopted.
- (h) Adequate resources earmarked from the general sectors in each state and ministry should flow for tribal development.

TRIBAL SUB-PLAN STRATEGY, FIFTH PLAN

Having been seized of the weaknesses in policies and programmes of tribal development following up to the end of the fourth plan, notably (a) the programme got atrophied financially and consequently physically since it became a sectoral programme for execution of certain schemes with the limited resources of the backward classes welfare sector, (b) there was failure to comprehend distinctive characteristics of the tribal areas and the scheduled tribes, and (c) the policies and programmes as well as the administrative machinery therefore were hardly moulded to their needs, the Government of India took the decision that from the fifth plan onwards the major thrust for development of the tribal areas and tribal communities ought to be provided by the concerned sectoral authorities. Since sometimes area development was provided for at the cost of the tribal community, it was laid down that the strategy would be "area development with focus on development of the tribal communities . . . for areas where tribals are a predominant community". (B.D. Sharma, 1977). The tasks were defined as "elimination of exploitation in all forms, speeding up the process of socio-economic development, building inner strength of the people and improving their organisational capability". (B.D. Sharma, 1977). The clarity is to be noted.

The problem was broadly divided into: (i) areas of tribal concentration, and (ii) dispersed tribal communities. In respect of the former, the concept of area development with focus on development of the tribal communities has been maintained. In respect of the latter, no particular scheme of infrastructural development for aiding tribal development specifically is feasible since the infrastructure would support development schemes of all sections of people; tribal development in such a situation should be comprised of community-based schemes sustained in the matrix

of general infrastructural development schemes.

In certain major states of tribal concentration, a block or a tehsil or a taluka was chosen as the smallest unit for identifying tribal majority units. This norm was applied to Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gūjarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. In some other states, it was difficult to come across development blocks or the alternative units with more than 50 per cent of tribal concentration, as the tribal population was dispersed, *e.g.*, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Assam; a total population threshold of about 20,000 or even 10,000 was worked upon. But, in some other states like West Bengal and Tripura, even this did not help and a group of villages with more than 50 per cent of tribal population had to be considered for inclusion in the scheme. Some adjustments were made later, with the result that by the end of the fifth plan period about 65 per cent of the total scheduled tribe population of the country was covered by the tribal sub-plans. The attempt in the sixth plan period is to extend the coverage further, by going down to a unit lower than a block. Pockets of a minimum of 10,000 total population with 50 per cent or more of scheduled tribe population have been identified in various states and the exercise is expected to cover 75 per cent the total scheduled tribe population in the country.

The tribal sub-plan has been envisaged as representing the total development effort in the identified areas with the aid of resources pooled from various sources, *viz.*: (i) outlays from the state plans, (ii) investment by Central ministries, (iii) special central assistance of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and (iv) institutional finance. The sub-plans were finalised in 1975-76. The Planning Commission requested the Central ministries to quantify their investment for tribal areas for the year 1976-77; this exercise has yet to reach conclusive stage. At any rate, investment from the state plan and special Central assistance were finalised by 1976-77. Separate sub-heads for tribal sub-plans were introduced in state budgets the same year.

Table 2 shows investments in the tribal areas from the first plan to the fifth plan and projected investment in the sixth plan. The increase in investment in the fifth plan period as a result of operation of the strategy of the tribal sub-plan calls for notice.

METHODOLOGY OF PREPARATION OF TRIBAL SUB-PLANS

Briefly, the methodology of preparation of sub-plan for the tribal regions of a State is as follows. Since the strategy is to prepare programmes for specific needs of the area and the people, planning has to start from the lowest unit, *i.e.*, ITDP. Each constituent block of an ITDP is required to formulate its five-year plan with annual phasing in the context of the

TABLE 2 PLAN OUTLAYS/EXPENDITURE FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

(Rs. in crores)

<i>Plan period</i>	<i>Total plan outlay</i>	<i>Tribal development programmes</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
First Plan*	1,960	19.93	1.0
Second Plan*	4,672	42.92	0.9
Third Plan*	8,577	50.53	0.6
Annual Plans 1966-69*	6,756	32.32	0.5
Fourth Plan†	15,902	75.00	0.5
Fifth Plan (1974-79)†	39,322	1,182.00	3.01
Sixth Plan (1978-83)†	69,380	3,030.00	4.37

*Expenditure.

†Outlay.

natural resource endowment, occupations and skills of the people, infrastructure and human requirements. The block plans are to be aggregated at the ITDP level, taking an overview of the entire project area. The project reports thus prepared, are to be aggregated at the State level into the tribal sub-plan of the State. The need-based ITDP project reports and the state sub-plan have to be matched to resource-availability. The process of planning has, thus, to be built up, funnelling upwards. Further, the process needs to be initiated simultaneously at three levels, viz., the ITDP level, the individual sectors and the state level. Interweaving of former two has to take place at the block, the ITDP as well as the state level. In other words, the project report for an ITDP should reflect the balanced inter-sectoral programmes relative to the natural resource endowment, the needs and aspirations and the skills and aptitude of the people. Similarly, the tribal sub-plan for a state should represent an aggregate of the various project reports, articulating in sum the priorities, needs and aspirations of the tribal areas in the state, duly married to the financial resources available.

The methodology implies that the state authorities communicate to the project authorities outlays which the latter can expect for the five-year period as well as for each of the one-year phases before the commencement of the respective periods. Once the outlays are known, the project authorities have to sort out priorities and arrange sectoral programmes in the light of the priorities. At this stage, particularly, association of tribal representatives is of crucial importance so that the plans can become truly

reflective of the people's needs, aspirations and inclinations. However, the process has not come into being completely in any of the states owing to a variety of reasons. Efforts are being made to streamline it and, before long, it may become a reality. Presently, the disaggregation exercise is adopted, whereby the lump sectoral outlays are generally broken up and passed on to the concerned field authorities for implementation of programmes. However, both elements in the planning process, *viz.*, planning from below implying realistic integrated effort are being kept in the fore.

The Sixth Five Year Plans of the states have already been finalised. As per the guidelines, adequate financial provisions should be made therefrom for tribal areas keeping in view: (a) the total population of the sub-plan area, (b) the geographical area, (c) the comparative level of development, and (d) the state of social services. The State Plan Outlays may be regarded as comprised of 'divisible' and 'non-divisible' components. Those investments whose benefit does not or cannot flow to any specific region or a particular target group may be called the non-divisible part. From the divisible pool, weightage needs to be given to tribal areas while due accrual of benefits to tribal regions should be ensured from the non-divisible portion. It is the endeavour that, on the whole, to compensate for the neglect and backwardness, the tribal areas should attract weightage in allocation of funds.

QUANTIFICATION FROM STATE PLANS

Table 3 sums up the quantification effort of 16 States (excluding the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Goa, Daman and Diu) for the sixth plan period 1978-83 and 1979-80.

The total state plan outlays for the five-year period 1978-83 indicated at col. 4 and for 1979-80 indicated in col. 9 are those which have been fixed by the Planning Commission, while the flow therefrom to the tribal sub-plan during the same periods shown in cols. 5 and 10 respectively are the figures which have been projected by the concerned state governments. With reference to the figures for the sixth plan period, as seen in col. 5: (a) only the States of Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Orissa display percentage financial flow higher than the percentage of ST population in the states. This means that some weightage has been given in financial terms over and above the flow strictly warranted by the proportion of ST population. (b) In other states, the financial investments projected are not commensurate with the ST population percentage.

The situation has improved in 1979-80 when, as reference to col. 11 will show, the percentage of quantification is higher in the States of Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Manipur, Orissa and Tripura. Orissa shows higher percentage of quantification relative to the ST population percentage though less than for the period 1978-83. One is liable to

TABLE 3 STATE PLAN OUTLAY, FLOW TO TRIBAL SUB-PLAN AND SPECIAL CENTRAL ASSISTANCE (SCA)
FOR 1978-83 AND 1979-80

Sl. No.	State/U.T.	Percentage of S.T. to total population in State (Revised)	1978-83 Outlay				1979-80 Outlay				(Rs. in crores)	
			Total state plan		S.C.A.		Flow to tribal sub-plan		Percent- tage		Total state plan	
			(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1.	Andhra Pradesh	5.12	2,500	84.66	3.39	13.10	97.76	441	15.37	3.49	2.64	18.01
2.	Assam	10.99	800	48.00	6.00	15.50	63.50	155	9.31	6.01	3.06	12.37
3.	Bihar	8.75	2,500	475.00	19.00	42.90	517.90	357	65.25	18.28	8.29	73.54
4.	Gujarat	14.07	2,440	224.13	9.19	25.40	249.53	392	39.20	10.00	4.86	44.06
5.	Himachal Pradesh	4.09	442	29.32	6.63	5.00	34.32	74	7.96	10.81	1.25	9.21
6.	Karnataka	0.89	1,952	12.65	0.65	2.00	14.65	300	3.15	1.05	0.44	3.59
7.	Kerala	0.90	1,200	13.21	1.10	1.50	14.71	170	1.59	0.94	0.31	1.19
8.	Madhya Pradesh	23.56	3,156	548.37	17.38	82.70	631.07	465	70.54	15.16	16.11	86.65
9.	Maharashtra	7.62	4,700	240.00	5.11	21.30	261.30	813	45.83	5.64	3.33	49.16
10.	Manipur	31.13	163	37.54	23.03	6.80	44.34	31	11.18	36.06	1.26	12.44
11.	Orissa	23.13	1,126	331.83	29.47	42.80	374.63	210	58.51	27.86	8.30	66.81
12.	Rajasthan	12.17	1,750	227.00	12.97	15.00	242.00	275	33.34	12.12	3.27	36.61
13.	Tamil Nadu	1.09	2,150	12.50	0.58	2.50	15.00	343	2.04	0.59	0.50	2.54
14.	Tripura	28.98	174	37.64	21.63	5.50	43.14	26	8.51	32.58	1.20	9.71
15.	Uttar Pradesh	0.23	5,000	3.17	0.06	1.50	4.67	810	0.59	0.07	0.30	0.89
16.	West Bengal	5.87	2,812	70.03	2.49	15.00	85.03	369	17.74	4.81	3.09	20.83
TOTAL		7.62	32,865	2,395.05	7.27	298.50	2,693.55	5,231	390.11	7.46	58.21	448.32

conclude that the idea of the various sectors contributing to tribal development has been accepted and is gaining ground.

A look at the state plan budgets shows that a good part has been committed to schemes in the capital-intensive sectors like power, flood-control, large and medium industry, mining and transportation. The case of major and medium irrigation and communications stands on a slightly different footing and it can be argued that benefits of these two sectors may flow to the tribal population and tribal areas in varying degrees, though whether, based on past experience, this does happen is rather doubtful. Assuming, for a moment, that, as hitherto, major and medium irrigation projects skirt tribal beneficiaries. Table 4 has been prepared excluding this sector from the divisible pool of state plans. For 1979-80, the total state plan outlay (col. 3) and its divisible pool (col. 4), the flow to the tribal sub-plan (col. 5) and its divisible pool component (col. 6) indicate that: (a) 12 states out of 16 had a divisible pool of less than 50 per cent of the states' total outlay for the year and of them in respect of 4 states it was less than 40 per cent; and (b) in 4 states the divisible pool was above 50 per cent out of which 3 had it above 70 per cent.

It is not disputed that the preponderant weightage in favour of the capital-intensive sectors may be justified in the context of the overall priorities. But it militates against the concept of target-groups and family-based planning, more germane to programmes like small farmers development, tribal development and scheduled castes development. The practice does not accord with the observation of the prime minister that "The direction of our planning is to solve over a period of time the problems of the poor of all communities, especially tribals, Harijans, backward communities and regions" made in the Foreword of the Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79, document of the Planning Commission. The argument advanced in favour of higher allocations for the capital-intensive sectors even in the context of tribal situation has been that it helps create employment, build infrastructural facilities, extension and imparting of skills, equity tribals to take advantage of employment in industry, mining and such other places. It has to be recognised, however, that there is going to be a long time-lag between the availability of infrastructural facilities being created with the capital investments on the one hand and their utilisation through acquisition of skills, expertise and knowledge on the other. Mental and attitudinal change as a significant dimension, a factor of time, has also to be reckoned with. In the interregnum, the facilities created might have to either lie idle or be used by the advanced non-tribal sections of the population only.

In Table 5, an analysis has been sought to be made of the percentage of funds which flow to sectors benefiting individual families of the total of the state plan outlay (col. 6) and of the flow to such sectors as percentage of the total outlay of the tribal sub-plan (col. 5). The former ranges from

TABLE 4 STATE PLANS OUTLAY (TOTAL AND DIVISIBLE) AND FLOW TO TRIBAL SUB-PLAN, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES FOR 1979-80 (APPROVED OUTLAY)

Sl. No.	State	(Rs. in lakhs)									
		1979-80 outlay state plan			1979-80 outlay tribal sub-plan			Percentage			
		Total	Divisible	Total	Divisible	Total	4:3	5:3	6:4		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)			
1.	Andhra Pradesh	44,080	14,874	1,537	687	—	34.74	3.49	4.62		
2.	Assam	15,500	8,370	931	896	—	54.00	6.01	10.70		
3.	Bihar	35,685	13,835	6,525	3,806	—	38.77	18.28	27.51		
4.	Gujarat	39,200	17,325	3,920	3,044	—	44.20	10.00	17.57		
5.	Himachal Pradesh	7,362	5,152	796	549	—	69.98	10.81	10.66		
6.	Karnataka	30,000	12,802	315	295	—	42.67	1.05	2.30		
7.	Kerala	17,000	6,790	159	149	—	39.94	0.94	2.19		
8.	Madhya Pradesh	46,516	16,103	7,054	5,104	—	34.62	15.16	31.70		
9.	Maharashtra	81,326	35,336	4,583	3,438	—	43.45	5.64	9.73		
10.	Manipur	3,100	2,230	1,118	797	—	71.94	36.06	35.74		
11.	Orissa	20,998	9,753	5,851	2,122	—	46.45	27.86	21.76		
12.	Rajasthan	27,500	10,873	3,334	862	—	39.54	12.12	7.93		
13.	Tripura	2,616	2,065	851	802	—	78.94	32.53	38.84		
14.	Tamil Nadu	34,288	15,807	204	194	—	46.10	0.50	1.23		
15.	Uttar Pradesh	81,000	34,468	59	45	—	42.55	0.07	0.13		
16.	West Bengal	36,851	15,622	1,774	1,281	—	42.39	4.81	8.20		
GRAND TOTAL		5,24,625	2,22,883	39,268	24,376	42.48	7.48	10.94			

0.02 per cent in the case of West Bengal to 15.66 per cent in respect of Tripura, the average being 3.24 per cent. The latter figure varies from 13.18 per cent in respect of Rajasthan to 79.44 per cent in case of Assam, the average being 43.45 per cent.

TABLE 5 TOTAL OUTLAY OF TRIBAL SUB-PLANS (TSP) AND
PERCENTAGE OUTLAY ON SECTORS BENEFITING
INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES—1979-80

<i>(Rs. in lakhs)</i>						
<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>State plan</i>	<i>Flow of state plan funds to TSP</i>	<i>Outlay on sectors benefiting individual families</i>	<i>Percentage 4:3</i>	<i>Percentage 4:2</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
1. Andhra Pradesh	44,080	1,537	311	20.23	0.71	
2. Assam	15,500	931	744	79.91	4.80	
3. Bihar	35,685	6,525	2,822	43.25	7.91	
4. Gujarat	39,200	3,920	1,979	50.48	5.05	
5. Himachal Pradesh	7,362	796	267	33.54	3.63	
6. Karnataka	30,000	315	240	76.19	0.80	
7. Kerala	17,000	159	97	61.01	0.57	
8. Madhya Pradesh	46,516	7,054	3,979	56.41	8.55	
9. Maharashtra	81,326	4,583	2,710	59.13	3.33	
10. Manipur	3,100	1,118	346	30.75	11.16	
11. Orissa	20,998	5,851	1,671	28.56	7.96	
12. Rajasthan	27,500	3,334	466	13.18	1.69	
13. Tamil Nadu	34,288	204	113	55.39	0.33	
14. Tripura	2,612	851	409	48.06	15.66	
15. Uttar Pradesh	81,000	59	16	27.12	0.02	
16. West Bengal	36,851	1,774	779	43.91	2.11	
GRAND TOTAL	5,23,018	39,011	16,949	43.45	3.24	

The question to be considered is whether a larger proportion of the admittedly scarce resources being earmarked for the tribal areas should not be utilised for schemes which are likely to make quick impact on the socio-economic condition of individual tribal families. Family-oriented schemes in the economic sectors like agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, forestry, small and village industries can usher in quick benefits, howsoever small, and liable to make substantial difference to the meagre

income of the family. It has been seen, for instance, that effective marketing arrangement for items of minor forest produce collected by a tribal family has pulled the family out of the brink of starvation. Further, investment in social sectors like education and health are likely to play no mean part in the progress, in the long run, of each such family whose members are educated or medically looked after.

CONTRIBUTION OF CENTRAL MINISTRIES

The centre having a special constitutional responsibility towards the scheduled tribes and scheduled areas, the role of central ministries assumes significance. The Planning Commission has asked the central ministries and departments to have a clear idea of the problems of tribal areas, prepare special programmes relating to their concerned sectors and adapt the ongoing programmes wherever necessary, in consultation with the state governments, keeping in view the requirements of the tribal areas. Hence, while preparing sub-plan commencing at the ITDP level and aggregating at the state level, fields where central ministries can play a substantial role are to be identified and estimated and outlays projected.

The Ministry of Home Affairs operates the special central assistance for which a ceiling of Rs. 190 crores was provided for the period 1974-79 and Rs. 350 crores have been provided for the sixth plan period 1978-83. This is the Home Ministry's additive. But it has been recognised clearly that the basic investments in tribal areas and for tribal communities are to be made from the state plan and funds of the centrally sponsored and central schemes. The role of the special central assistance is that of a gap-filler, i.e., to make available resources for specially relevant schemes for which funds otherwise are not in sight. Hence, the special Central assistance is supplementary in character.

INSTITUTIONAL FINANCE

In the formulation of programmes, specific problems of each area and the target groups in terms of family are to be clearly defined and schemes directly benefiting the individual tribal given the highest priority. The National Committee on Development of Backward Areas headed by Shri B. Sivaraman, ex-Member, Planning Commission, which is currently deliberating on Tribal sub-plans also, has expressed itself strongly in favour of planning on family basis. With such orientation, the state outlays require to be multiplied by attracting institutional finance. This source of finance is the fourth significant contribution to the sub-plan funds. Its importance cannot be exaggerated if, as is the case, the emphasis is to be on schemes of individual benefit. Examples of such

schemes are numerous. In the field of agriculture, a tribal family may be given 50 per cent sub-sidy and 50 per cent may be the loan component from a financial institution; the relative percentages of subsidy and loan component may vary from state to state and from time to time. Similar arrangements may hold in the fields of horticulture, agriculture, animal husbandry, small irrigation, forestry, cottage and small industries. In the field of credit-cum-marketing, the part to be played by institutional finance is vital. Consumption credit, no less than production credit, has come to occupy a crucial position in the gamut of measures for the promotion of tribal economy. Despite the widespread recognition of the important role that institutional finance has in the tribal development framework there is a feeling that, on the whole, the financial institutional sector has held back its hand. In particular, though the decision to allow the tribal areas the benefit of differential rate of interest finance, *i.e.*, at 4 per cent, was taken by the Government of India some years ago, modalities still stand in the way of operationalising it. In any event, institutional finance will have to augment the state funds more and more for schemes of individual benefit.

NON-PLAN SECTOR

There is an umbral region in the financial picture. This is the non-plan budget of the state government. It is known that programmes taken up in the course of a plan period get transferred to the non-plan side at the end of the plan period. Maintenance of service created as a part of the plan activity is provided for by the award of the Finance Commission. The depressing aspect in respect of tribal areas is that the developmental effort in these areas having so far been scanty, the non-plan sector has remained exiguous. This is indeed a pity since certain sectors are financed in the main from the non-plan side, *e.g.*, education, health, cooperation and agriculture. It is well-known that in the education field the non-plan investment is many times that of the plan outlay, since bulk of the expenditure goes for defraying salaries of teachers and maintenance of school buildings. It is incumbent that, as in the case of plan outlays, earmarking of funds from the non-plan side also for tribal areas should be undertaken by the state government in the remaining annual plans of the sixth plan period, and regularly on plan basis thereafter.

The programme perspectives for tribal areas have to be limited to within the framework of financial resources availability. During the five-year period of the fifth plan 1974-79, investment projections were of the order of Rs. 1,500 crores, comprised of Rs. 950 crores from state plans, Rs. 100 crores from the central and centrally sponsored schemes, Rs. 190 crores of special central assistance and the balance of institutional finance. In point of actual fact, since the fifth plan terminated in March, 1978, *i.e.*,

a year earlier than scheduled, the total investment has been of the order of Rs. 590 crores, comprised of Rs. 495 crores of the state plans, Rs. 95 crores of special central assistance. The contribution of the two other sources has not been significant. The exercise of preparing five year sub-plan 1978-83 was gone through by the states in the financial year 1978-79, while the Planning Commission finalised the sixth plan in the earlier part of the financial year 1979-80. The 1978-83 sub-plans of the States prepared on the basis of the sixth plan as decided upon between the Planning Commission and the state governments, have not been prepared as yet. The picture is bound to be different compared to the one which the state governments had projected in 1978-79. Table 6 shows the sixth plan prepared by the state governments, the flows therefrom projected by them for the sub-plan, the sixth plan size fixed by the Planning Commission and the share of each state from the special central assistance calculated in terms of a formula based on the sub-plan ST population, the sub-plan area and inverse proportion of net domestic product of the state.

The picture is tentative, particularly since many of the states have yet to depict flows from the sixth plan as finally fixed by the Planning Commission in the middle of 1979. Hence, at the present stage, it calls for little comment.

TRIBAL INVOLVEMENT

Unlike the problem of development in the rural areas of the country, that of development of scheduled tribes and tribal areas is not merely one of higher productivity, increased incomes and raised levels of consumption. It bears emphasis that the tribal areas have remained secluded from other areas and sections of society for long centuries. Almost every one of the tribal communities has, as a result, evolved its own distinctive economic system, culture and individuality. By and large, the general concept of development in post-independence India may not accord with their own idealsystem. On the contrary, it is not unlikely that the new western and industrial culture sought to be introduced into the tribal areas might strike discordant notes in the harmony achieved by the tribal people through a fine balance of the various forces at work. The exhortation of the late Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, that the tribal people should be enabled to advance along the lines of their own genius has, therefore, strong relevance even today. It would have been befitting if each of the scheduled tribe community were to deliberate over and decide the course of its development. The decision might have been taken in the light of its cultural background, the present level of development and the projected needs. But we know that many of the scheduled tribe communities lack adequate articulation. The communication gap acts as a barrier to concretising the right type of blueprint for development. Deferring action

TABLE 6 SIXTH PLAN OUTLAYS PROPOSED AND APPROVED AND FLOWS TO TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

(Rs. in crores)										
Sl. No.	State	Proposed (1978-83)			Outlay approved by Planning Commission	Provisional flow to T.S.P.	Percentage SCA to TSP	Flow from SCA to TSP	Total flow to TSP (Cols. 7+9)	
		State plan	Flow to T.S.P.							Percentage
			(3)	(4)						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
1.	Andhra Pradesh	4,000	153.87	3.85	2,500	84.66	3.39	13.10	97.76	
2.	Assam	1,450	97.12	6.70	800	48.00	6.00	15.50	63.50	
3.	Bihar	6,355	1,089.00	17.14	2,500	475.00	19.00	42.90	517.90	
4.	Gujarat	3,307	263.37	7.96	2,440	224.13	9.19	25.40	249.53	
5.	Himachal Pradesh	584	56.50	9.67	442	29.32	6.63	5.00	34.32	
6.	Karnataka	2,550	15.68	0.61	1,952	12.65	0.65	2.00	14.65	
7.	Kerala	2,000	13.00	0.65	1,200	13.21	1.10	1.50	14.71	
8.	Madhya Pradesh	4,463	725.00	16.24	3,156	548.37	17.38	82.70	631.07	
9.	Maharashtra	5,536	240.00	4.34	4,700	240.00	5.11	21.30	261.30	
10.	Manipur	254	75.94	29.90	163	37.54	23.03	6.80	44.34	
11.	Orissa	2,552	764.72	29.97	1,126	331.83	29.47	42.80	374.63	
12.	Rajasthan	2,902	256.24	8.83	1,750	227.00	12.97	15.00	242.00	
13.	Tamil Nadu	2,523	18.00	0.71	2,150	12.50	0.58	2.50	15.00	
14.	Tripura	305	61.25	20.08	174	37.64	21.63	5.50	43.14	
15.	Uttar Pradesh	7,993	4.50	0.06	5,000	3.17	0.06	1.50	4.67	
16.	West Bengal	4,521	81.15	1.79	2,812	70.03	2.49	15.00	85.03	
TOTAL		51,295	3,920.34	7.79	32,865	2,395.05	7.27	298.50	2,693.55	

(Rs. in crores)

for development till the tribal people make clear their choice of the path of destiny may not be a feasible course, for inaction at this stage might widen the existing disparity between the non-tribal and tribal sections. The option left is that development plans should be forged with the maximum degree of association of tribal representatives, taking into consideration, as best as is possible, the natural resource endowment, the occupational pattern, the aptitudes and skills and the general psyche of the people.

The Dhebar Commission (1961) observed that "It may be said that throughout the whole of tribal India, every substantial village has some kind of machinery for settlement of social and religious disputes". They felt that the tribal councils have great potentialities. They represent the cooperative and communal temperament of the people, having been established in history and tradition and supported by social and religious sanctions. They recommended that the councils should be used "not only to maintain the fusion of the tribal institutions but also to further the progress of development throughout the tribal areas". The statutory Panchayats might exist alongside the tribal councils and the latter may be given various aspects of development work (including management of ordinary or forest cooperatives) and encouraged to settle village and intervillage disputes without having resort to the ordinary courts.

The Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes headed by Shri P. Shilu Ao drew attention to the small representation of tribals in Panchayats and commented that the reason for the unsatisfactory response of the tribal was that "the new set-up does not conform to their customs and traditions and is looked upon by them as both alien and incongruous".

The Study Team felt disturbed as not only was the representation of tribals in the panchayati raj bodies inadequate, but the tribal members were more or less in the hands of the non-tribal members. They referred to a study conducted by the Tribal Research Bureau of Orissa which showed that, in a particular scheduled area in Orissa, more than 73 sarpanches were non-tribals. The present author had the opportunity to conduct research among the Saora tribe inhabiting Ganjam and Koraput Districts of Orissa which brought to light the fact that not one out of eleven chairmen of the panchayat samitis was a Saora and out of the 159 sarpanches in these blocks only 40 were Saora. The view was expressed that reservations already available in respect of seats of the legislative assembly and parliament should be extended to district, block and panchayati tiers (Singh, 1979). This recommendation later figured in the report submitted to the Government of India by the Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions headed by Shri Asoka Mehta. The Committee made the categorical recommendation that the representation of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in all Panchayati raj institutions should be on the basis of their population in order that a fair deal could be provided to them. Further, that in talukas and blocks where the scheduled tribe

constituted a majority, the principle of reservation should be extended to elective offices.

The working group appointed by the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, to advise on the approach, strategy and priorities in respect of programmes for protection and development of scheduled tribes during the Sixth Plan 1978-79 period made the following important recommendations in this context:

- (a) The representation of tribals in the Panchayati Raj bodies should not be less than their proportion in the population. The positions of Chairman and other important office-bearers should be reserved in their favour.
- (b) The traditional tribal panchayats at the village level (the tribal councils of Dhebar Commission) may be recognised as part of the system. They should have under their jurisdiction all matters of the village including the new development functions. They may be allowed to evolve their own methods of working.
- (c) In the gram panchayats covering a group of villages, half the members may be inducted from traditional village panchayats, the remaining half being elected. The functions of gram panchayats in tribal areas may be wider and cover some of the functions of traditional panchayats as well.

It would thus appear that, in the context of inadequate representation of tribals and feeble articulation of their views in these bodies, various committees and groups have recommended obligatory reservation for tribals in the decentralised democratic set-up. It should be noted, however, that at the time of consideration of the recommendations of the Asoka Mehta Committee Report in the middle of 1979, at a conference of chief ministers the matter does not seem to have attracted enough attention and no decision was taken.

In the absence of a clear-cut policy on the issue, the association of tribal leadership and opinion is to be ensured through executive machinery. For the purpose, the concerned states may broadly be divided into two groups. In the first group could be placed states like Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, where the tradition of democratic decentralised set-up is not entrenched so deeply as in the other group like Gujarat and Maharashtra. In the former category, the expression of tribal view point is secured mainly by having MPs, MLAs, Chairmen, panchayat samitis and prominent non-officials in the body constituted at the level of ITDP. In some states such bodies are purely advisory; in some others, they oversee implementation, sanction funds and, on the whole, take more interest. By including chairmen of panchayat samitis, non-official involvement at block-level is assured and association

of prominent tribals involves even lower panchayati raj tiers. In Gujarat, where District Panchayats and Taluka Panchayats function and ITDP is the intermediate level between the two, so far the ITDP has no interface with the panchayati raj bodies. The state government appointed a high level committee to go into the problems and suggest amendments of the various legal enactments pertaining to panchayati raj institutions in the state and they observed that there was no reason why there should be a separate administrative structure outside the panchayati raj institutions for implementation of tribal sub-plan programmes. They proposed a statutory committee within the district panchayat for each ITDP enjoying all the powers of the district panchayat conceived under the Panchayat Act.

CONCLUSION

In a paper entitled "Tribal Underdevelopment in India", presented to the UN Institute for Economic Planning and Development, Environment Training Programme Seminar on Environment and Poorly Integrated Societies in Africa (Mauritius, April 1976), Steve Jones made the scathing allegation that "Indian Government concern about protecting and developing tribals is largely rhetorical and bears little relationship to the practice of national and state governments or parastatal organisations". The charge is serious and has been sought to be maintained mainly on three arguments. Firstly, that funds allocated to tribal development by successive governments since independence have been both meagre and greatly outweighed by the value of resources extracted from tribal areas. Second, that Government supported exploitation of the Adviasis' traditional environment has involved heavy social costs for the tribals who have been forced to give up considerable quantum of land and whose customary rights to forests have been severely restricted. Third, that in order to facilitate their exploitation the tribals are prevented from acquiring any real political power. In regard to the first argument, in Table 2 it has been shown that there has been marked upswing in investment in the fifth plan period as compared to the earlier plan periods. Jones has cited figures of expenditure on tribal development as percentage of the total plan outlays from first plan to fourth plan which are fairly close to those in column 4 in the Table, e.g., the figure for the fourth plan given by Jones is 0.46, whereas the figure in Table 2 is 0.5 per cent. It will be noticed that the fifth plan investment (a figure that was not available to Jones then) shows a percentage of 3.01 and the anticipated investment in the sixth plan period 4.37. If the trend is maintained hereafter, and there seems to be no doubt that it will be, nothing more needs to be said about the argument advanced in the matter of allocation of funds. There is, on the other hand, substantial validity in the second argument and the matter will have to be scrutinised in detail with a view to rectification. But there

appears hardly any evidence to support the contention that the tribals have been prevented from acquiring real political power. Reservation of seats for them in parliament, state legislative assemblies and public services are calculated to make them a political and administrative force. It has been suggested that the orientation of state boundaries has been particularly directed towards breaking up of tribal concentration so that in each of the states concerned "they form politically insignificant minorities in predominantly non-tribal states". It is possible to aver that tribal interests were not safeguarded in the demarcation of state boundaries, but to argue that there was a conscious design to make them politically impotent appears misconstrual of recent history. In any event, it is debatable if constitution of a separate tribal state or states comprised of the tracts of middle India would conduce to their faster development. All arguments apart, there is no gainsaying that there is considerable force in the basic thesis of Jones that notwithstanding the fact "that few countries in the world have made more efforts than India apparently has to protect the rights of their indigenous peoples and to integrate them into national development planning the adivasis remain probably the most underdeveloped community in India". More tangible proof of sincerity in the direction of tribal development has to be brought in evidence.

On the whole, the concept of tribal sub-plan embodying integrated and total approach to the problem of tribal development has been accepted by the states and has been in operation for the past three or four years. However, in concretising it and implementing its practical aspects, gaps are discernible. In the first instance, the effort of most state governments at quantification of financial resources from state plans trails behind the respective population percentage; weightage can only follow this first essential step. It may be seen from Table 3 that the quantification for the sixth plan 1978-83 has been above par only in the states of Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan.

Offering some evaluative reflections on Small Farmers Development Agency, Prof. Raj Krishna (1979) referred to both the approach and the support (particularly credit) systems and observed that "the area orientation and the target group orientation are inseparable. The area orientation has been necessitated by the advance of a purely sectoral approach to rural development. Similarly, the target-group orientation is essential because of the general tendency of untargetted programmes to carry benefits mainly to the large farmers. . . ." He emphasised that small farmer household can be relieved of poverty if productive assets are delivered to them and their new activities are linked with support system. He identified the main problems needing attention as inadequate coverage, administrative laxity and failure to organise support activities. Made for small farmers development programme, the observations have validity to tribal context, a fortiori.

In fact, a major bottleneck in tribal areas has been inadequate availability of institutional finance for family-oriented schemes. Of the two sectors, banking and cooperative, the banks sector has yet to settle down in the realm of development while the cooperative sector operations have been seriously hampered by overdues. Since, presently, there is no third agency, between the two they have to share the responsibility of providing credit. The differential rate of interest finance (4%) can be of immense consequence to the developmental effort, were it not for the facts that (a) the commercial banks sector is beset with a number of limitations and (b) the flow of the DRI credit in the cooperative channel has not been operationalised by the concerned authorities. There are other working difficulties besides, not one of which is insurmountable. It bears emphasis that the supportive institutional finance is crucial and, hence, needs urgent attention.

In the overall schemes of plan priorities, there is bias towards commitment of resources for capital-intensive sectors like power, flood control, large and medium industries, mining and transportation. Consequently, resources available for schemes of individual family benefits have been disproportionately small. In the tribal context, utilisation of infrastructural facilities created as a result of investment in capital-intensive sectors can fructify over a long period of time. In the meantime, sustained application to implementation of family-benefit schemes will yield to the tribal family immediate tangible dividends. It is, therefore, emphasised that adequate quantum of resources should be earmarked for schemes of individual family development, in any case, much above the present national average of 3.24 per cent. In effect, of the three major orientation patterns of development strategy, namely, region-specific, resource-specific and people (client)-specific, the last-named should preponderate over the other two in a mix of tribal development plan.

Reference was made earlier to the existence of a number of regulatory measures framed under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. The foregoing review would also indicate that financial resources no longer remain a serious constraint to tribal development. It is to implementational aspects that attention should turn more. The Fifth Schedule offers comprehensive scope for shaping an administrative framework capable of translating the objectives into reality. It appears adequate use has not been made of it. Its effective instrumentality should engage our serious attention.

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- In addition, the Tribal sub-plans of the states have been consulted.



Administration of Educational Programmes for Tribal Children in Andhra Pradesh: Problems and Processes

K. Murali Manohar

P. Ramaiah

EDUCATION is considered to be one of the most potent and surest means to bring about phenomenal changes in the socio-economic conditions and cultural outlook of the people. It is an index of progress of a community and a key to growth of knowledge. The level of prosperity, welfare and security of a community is dependent upon its level of education. While a number of other factors play a vital role in the process of development, sound foundation in a developing economy for sustained growth can be laid only through a system of universal scientific education. Proper education on the other hand can lead to a direct economic benefit due to the increased ability to process and utilise information, knowledge and experience.¹

The Constitution of India envisaged the provision of free, universal and compulsory education for children upto the age of 14 years and laid the responsibility on the state governments for its implementation. The performance of the state governments in the field of education, even after thirty years is, however, deplorable. Although there is a manifold increase in the expenditure on education and enrolment of primary school children, more than 30 per cent of the children are still deprived of school education. The rate of growth in the secondary school education has been much faster and with regard to university education in terms of expenditure, India overtook even some of the advanced

¹A. Misra, "Role of Education in Tribal Development", *Occasional Papers on Tribal Development*, No. 15, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1977, p. 2.

societies. However, the fact remains that a large percentage of children in India still are left far behind. A vast majority of these children belong to the underprivileged sections of the community, particularly scheduled castes and tribes. Many research studies revealed that the tribal areas stand at a much lower level in terms of literacy and school going children compared to the other areas.²

During five year plans a number of strategies were evolved but the results are far from the expectations. The latest one in the series is the adoption of National Policy for 100 per cent enrolment for the age group of 6-11 and 50 per cent enrolment for the age group of 11-14 by the end of 1978-79, which has miserably failed both in theory and practice. If the present pace of development continues, the policy objective may not be realised even after the end of this century. Unless a realistic policy is adopted with a more practical outlook and a missionary zeal in its implementation, it would not be possible to improve the educational level of the tribals.

Special attention requires to be paid to the education of the tribals in general and their children in particular to ensure their integration and eventual assimilation in the mainstream of the nation. Concentrated efforts on the children is likely to yield more fruitful results as they are tender and amenable to change. Any investment in them would lay strong foundations for rapid tribal development.

The present paper attempts from this stand point to evaluate the educational programmes undertaken for the Tribal Children in Andhra Pradesh, mainly focussing its attention on the problems and processes of educational programmes. Since the paper deals with children's education only the aspects related to pre-school, primary, upper primary and secondary education are covered in the analysis.

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

Personality formation is a product of physical, social and psychological development during the early childhood.³ With this in view, the Fifth Five Year Plan evolved a new strategy, viz., Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDSS) which provides for a wide range of services for the children upto the age of 6 years. The scheme aimed at laying foundations for the proper psychological, physical and social development of the child, besides other objectives.

The scheme also takes care of evolving programmes to check school

²B.D. Sharma, "Planning for Educational Development in Tribal Areas", *Occasional Papers on Tribal Development*, No. 11, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1977, p. 7.

³S.M. Shah, "Integrated Child Development Project", *Yojana*, Vol. XXII, 13, 16 July, 1978, p. 15.

dropouts.⁴ The package of services of the scheme includes non-formal education for children in the age-group of 3-6 years⁵

The programme was administered with the help of the Central and State Governments and various international agencies. Community development or tribal development blocks were put in charge of operations at the field level. At the village level, the centre of the activities was the 'Anganwadi', a common place, where the ICDSS programmes are carried out⁶. In Andhra Pradesh, to start with, one tribal development block was selected to look after the tribal children in 1975 and later it was extended to two more tribal development blocks⁷. Though, the programmes intended to cover all the tribal children in the project area it started 'Anganwadis' only in about two hundred villages, covering around 8,000 tribal children. Since the expansion of the 'Anganwadis' to cover all tribal areas depends on a number of agencies, the pace of development is very slow and not encouraging. The administration of various services under the ICDSS, suffers from a number of weaknesses and several loopholes⁸. The important among them are : (a) deficient planning; (b) lack of sufficient number of staff members and failure to attract talented people ; (c) lack of proper training and orientation to the Anganwadi workers towards the objectives of the scheme, cultural ethos and other background details of tribals and their respective roles ; (d) high percentage of absenteeism among the staff and children ; (e) Lack of coordination among various components of the programme ; (f) ill-equipped physical environment and inadequate facilities for the storage of food commodities, cooking, seating and feeding more than 20 to 30 children at a time; (g) lack of facilities for protected water supply, proper supply of medicines, vaccines, etc.; (h) absence of the participation of the voluntary agencies and the public especially women, in the implementation of the programmes ; (i) short supply of funds ; (j) shortage of

⁴The other objectives were: 1. To improve the nutritional and health status of children in the age group 0-6 (0.5+) years. 2. To reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school-dropout. 3. To achieve effective coordination of policy and implementation among the various departments to promote child development.

⁵For other details see, S.M. Shah, *op. cit.*

⁶There are also a few Balwadis existing in certain parts of scheduled areas, run by Indian Council of Child Welfare with almost all the same objectives, but at present a large number of them are closed down and not functioning.

⁷Besides for tribal children, the scheme also meant for children living in rural and urban areas. Consequently two urban and two rural projects were selected besides the tribal projects in Andhra Pradesh.

⁸For details about the defects in the planning and implementation of the ICDSS programmes, see K. Murali Manohar and P. Ramaiah, "Integrated Child Development Services Schemes in Andhra Pradesh—A Study" *Telugu, Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1979. Also see S.M. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.

teaching and playing material; and (k) lack of proper guidance and direction in implementing the scheme from higher authorities.

Andhra Pradesh has passed through three years of experience. Every scheme has some teething troubles. Here these troubles could be overcome only through committed work and extensive coverage of all the tribal children under the programme.

SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN

Table 1 reveals that out of 2.25 lakhs of school-age children only 0.95 lakhs constituting 42.2 per cent (among the school age children) are attending various schools, leaving a large percentage (57.8%) of children outside the schools.

TABLE 1 SCHOOL-AGE AND SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN IN SCHEDULED AREAS⁹

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Strength</i>
1.	School-age children	2,24,846
2.	School-going children	94,399
3.	Percentage of school-going children to school-age children	42.2%

SOURCE: Statistical compendium on education of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, Tribal Cultural and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1977, p. 152.

ENROLMENT

Table 2 reveals that 1,312 schools of various types are functioning in tribal areas with a total strength of 83,395 tribal children. The schools under panchayat samiti are primary and upper primary schools. The Zila Parishad Schools are generally secondary schools and the remaining schools run by District Educational Officer (DEO) and others are mostly upper primary schools and primary schools.

Analysis of the existing schools in detail, however, indicates that the strength in each school varies widely. Some schools have a small number of students whereas there are some others which are unmanageable. For instance, the strength of primary schools in Edugenapelly or Kothagudem is only 15 and in some other primary school like Charla in Khammam, it is 300. With regard to upper primary schools, the strength ranges from 30 in Kodampally to 470 in SRS Bhadrachalam. The high school strength

⁹Since the total strength of school-age and school-going tribal children of Andhra Pradesh is not available, only the available statistics were taken into consideration for analysis. This covers all the school going children of scheduled areas. Due to this the analysis in this regard has been limited to the scheduled areas only.

TABLE 2 THE NATURE OF ENROLMENT IN DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Sl. No.	Item	Schools under panchayat samiti	Schools under zila parishad	Schools under district collector	Aided schools under DEO	Ashram schools	Total
1.	No. of schools	483	18	51	375	385	1,312
2.	Total number of pupils enrolled*	24,560	6,000	3,188	24,970	24,677	83,395

*These figures do not include the enrolment of Tribal children in various schools of non-tribal areas. As per the records there are 11,004 tribal children enrolled in various schools of non-scheduled areas.

SOURCE: Statistical Compendium on Education of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, Tribal Cultural and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1977, pp. 35-36.

also varies between 800 to 1,200. However, a close analysis further reveals that a large number of schools are starved for students.

Table 2 reveals that educational institutions in tribal areas are run by multiple agencies such as panchayat samitis, zila parishad, integrated tribal development agencies and the state government. The result is lack of uniformity in the management of educational institutions. Right from enrolment of students to recruitment of the teachers, each is governed by its own set of rules and regulations. In these circumstances it becomes very difficult to have a comprehensive planning of educational programmes which thwarts the efficiency of integrated approach.

ACCESSIBILITY OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The distance between school and its coverage is important in assessing the level of adequacy in a particular region. It can be assumed without any doubt that, 'the more the area and distance covered by a school the less would be the access for the children and the vice-verse'. Table 3 indicates the average area and population covered by each school and the ratio of one level of schooling to the other.

Table 3 indicates that each primary school or upper primary school in the tribal area has to cover an average of 6.82 villages spread over 33.03 kms. The average population covered by each primary and upper primary school is 1,823. With regard to secondary schools, the figures explain the remoteness of the school, as each school has to cover an average area of

1,668.22 kms., covering a population of 92,056 of about 345 villages. Each Ashram school on the other hand covers an area of 77.99 kms. spreading over 16.09 villages with an average population of 4,384. The analysis of the table further reveals that the present arrangement of Ashram schools can cover only 25.9 per cent of school-going children and there is no provision for the remaining 74 per cent.

TABLE 3 THE AVERAGE STRENGTH AND DISTANCES COVERED BY VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Sl. No.	Type of schools	Total no. of schools	Total strength of pupil	Average distance covered in kms.	Average villages covered	Average population covered
1.	Primary schools and upper primary schools	909	52,718	33.03	6.82	1,823 (247)
2.	Secondary schools	18	6,000	688.22	344.28	92,056 (12,491)
3.	Ashram schools	385	24,677	77.99	16.09	4,384 (584)

NOTE: The figures in brackets represent the average strength of school-going children at various levels of education.)

SOURCE: Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad.

Table 3 indicates that each child has to travel long distances to reach his school. The figures present a staggering variance when compared to the specifications issued by the Planning Commission. The scheme expects that a primary school is to cover not more than 1.5 kms., a middle school 5 kms. and a high school 8 kms. In such a difficult situation, it is futile to expect the tribal children to travel such long distances to reach their respective schools. Since 'the higher level the education, the higher would be the distance', a child has to travel more distance, after the successful completion of each stage of education.

Table 3 indicates that in comparison to the primary schools, the ratio for high schools is highly inadequate in the state. When compared to national average (which stands at 75 primary schools, 11 middle schools and upper primary schools and 4 secondary schools) these figures are much lower.

The schools in the tribal areas might not have been established on uniform basis all over the state as far their distance is concerned. The above analysis gives a near-true-picture of the adequacy of the schools on one

hand and the long distance that the young tribal children have to travel on the other. It is true that, there are large number of scattered tribal settlements and most of them have less than 200 population in which case the schools have to be run even if they are uneconomical. Thus, the scattered distribution of tribal population and the physical configuration poses a problem in providing accessibility of schools to all the tribal children. Despite these difficulties, it is an obligation on the part of the Indian states as enshrined in the constitution, to provide education to all the children in India. Financial constraints should not come in the way for providing free education to all the tribal children. This involves starting of more number of Ashram schools and schools with hostel facilities which would solve the problem to a great extent.

SCHOOL DROPOUTS AMONG THE TRIBAL CHILDREN

The enrolment pattern of the scheduled tribe boys and girls from primary school to high school levels has been analysed mainly to examine the percentage of school dropouts. Table 4 indicates the enrolment pattern of scheduled tribe boys and girls in various schools during 1975-76.

TABLE 4 ENROLMENT AND DROPOUTS OF TRIBAL BOYS AND GIRLS IN VARIOUS SCHOOLS IN SCHEDULED AREAS, 1975-76

<i>Sl. Class No.</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Dropouts as a percentage of total enrolled in the previous class</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Dropouts as a percentage of total enrolled in the previous class</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total dropouts at each level</i>
1. I to V class	40,973 (64.57)	—	22,481 (35.43)	—	63,454 (100.00)	—
2. VI to VII class	2,018 (81.31)	95.07	464 (18.69)	97.94	2,482 (100.00)	96.09
3. VIII to X class	1,172 (82.31)	97.14	252 (17.69)	98.88	1,424 (100.00)	97.76
TOTAL	44,163 (65.56)	—	23,197 (34.44)	—	67,360* (100.00)	—

NOTE: Figures in brackets show the percentage of children at each level.

*The details about the remaining 16,035 tribal children admitted in various other schools such as single-teacher schools and primary schools are not available. Hence, the analysis is limited to the available data.

SOURCE: Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad.

Table 4 presents significant trends with regard to school dropouts. It indicates that 96.09 per cent of the children dropped out at the level of upper primary and at the secondary school level 97.76 per cent children were dropped. It would mean that only 3.91 (boys 4.93% and girls 2.0%) per cent of the children could climb from primary to upper primary level and 2.24 per cent (2.86% boys, 1.12% girls) reached higher secondary level.¹⁰

Such a large number of dropouts is a reflection on the entire educational strategy for tribal children.

Tribal girls were placed in the most disadvantageous position in the whole scheme of education. Their enrolment is still far behind. No educational programme would be successful without involving girls. Table 4 indicates that in primary, upper primary and high schools, the percentage of girls is 35.43, 18.69 and 17.69 respectively. Besides the small representation, the problem of dropouts among girls is more acute than among the boys. There may be many reasons for girls for not joining or for discontinuing their education. Some of the reasons are: social inhibitions in the tribal society against girls mixing with boys, early marriage, greater involvement of the girls in the economic activity of the family from an early age, no obvious benefit or clear aim in the eyes of the parents for which a girl needs to be educated, responsibility of the girls to take care of the younger children at home, absence of separate schools for girls in the rural areas, absence of lady teachers in the schools to create a suitable psychological atmosphere for the girls to attend the institution. There is need for a different treatment to be given to the educational programmes for tribal girls.

ADDITIONAL BENEFITS

The Government of Andhra Pradesh instituted certain incentives to attract and motivate the tribal children for educational attainment. They include, providing scholarships, supplying exercise note books and nationalised text books and identifying the 'bright students' for sending them to reputed institutions, providing hostel facilities and promoting Ashram school type of education. In the following paras an analysis of implementation of these programmes is attempted to study the adequacy and impact of the programme.

With regard to scholarships, a target of 31,145 beneficiaries were selected and an amount of Rs. 13.36 lakhs was earmarked for disbursing

¹⁰An observation indicates that the dropouts situation within the primary level of education in the state is very high. A large number of children dropped out at the I and II class level itself. For more details see: *Integrated Tribal Development Plans for Tribal Areas in Andhra Pradesh*, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1976.

pre-matric scholarships for the year 1975-76 but the achievements indicate the failure to attain the targets. Out of 31,145 pupils, only 11.81 per cent of pupils (3,678) were offered pre-matric scholarships and the remaining 88.19 per cent of pupils were not identified and covered. With the result large sums of amounts earmarked for this purpose remained unutilised.

With regard to the volume of expenditure incurred and the number of note books and text books supplied to the tribal children up to the end of 1976, it indicates that about 14,595 children received note books to the tune of Rs. 40,355 and 53,203 children received nationalised text books to the tune of Rs. 2.89 lakhs during 1976. The remaining 80,304 and 41,696 children were not extended with facility of supply of note books and text books respectively. As a result they could not get the books even outside. Since they were to go to nearby towns for purchase of the books it worked out to be a costly affair which a large number of tribal families could not afford.

Though instructions are issued to all the district educational officers for the prompt supply of all the required books for the tribal children, the instruction hardly had any impact on the performance. The reasons mostly mentioned were; short-supply, non-availability of books in time, financial constraints, transport difficulties, etc. In many areas the books reached as late as three months and in some cases even at the end of the academic year. As a result there are certain cases where children have opted out of the school for want of required number of note books and text books.

One of the new schemes introduced by the Government was to select some of the bright tribal pupils for admission into certain reputed educational institutions with a view to enable them for higher studies. During 1975-76, 220 pupils were selected for this purpose and were sent to various institutions by spending Rs. 2.06 lakhs towards their expenditure. The number of children selected however was only 0.23 per cent of the school-going tribal children. The programme was started with an intention to bring the tribals on par with the non-tribals it could not engender any enthusiasm among the tribals. It covered only a limited number of children and those too generally from the upper economic strata of the tribal people. The present arrangements are not conducive even for the talented tribal children to show their ability in studies, when planned efforts by the state are not made for proper placement of the students¹¹. Many of the scheduled tribe pupils who enter secondary schools have their earlier education in poor primary schools and therefore, are not properly equipped for secondary education. The case is repeated at all stages of higher education, from secondary to college education. In the absence of any provision for individual attention to improve the performance of tribal

¹¹J.P. Naik, Education of the Scheduled Tribes, 1965-66, *Occasional Monographs* No. 5, ICSSR, 1972, p. 22.

children, the purpose of reservation and special benefits provided at various levels is defeated.

The educational performance of the tribal children is also connected with the problem of hostels. A large number of tribal children admitted to hostels are studying at the secondary stage. Their performance in school is, thus, intimately connected with the management of these hostels. In a hostel, which is not properly run and where individual attention is not paid to children, it is not possible to get the desired results.

In Andhra Pradesh a total of about 671 hostels and hostels attached to Ashram schools provide facilities to 41,317 (43.54%) children. When it is compared to the total school-age children it covers only 18.38 per cent (of the total of 2,24,846). As a result, a large percentage of tribal children (81.62%) are not attracted to the school system as their socio-economic conditions do not permit them to go to school.

The management of Ashram schools in Andhra Pradesh attracted wide criticism from different quarters. Ill-conceived planning, wrong priorities, absence of an integrated approach and maladministration form the major core of the criticism laid on the administration of Ashram schools.¹²

The management of existing hostels, present a sorry state of affairs. The problems encountered by the hostel children are enumerated below: lack of physical facilities and the problem of congested rooms, over crowding, lack of proper ventilation and lighting facilities, lack of furniture in the rooms, lack of water facilities for drinking and bathing, lack of sufficient number of latrines and urinals, insanitary conditions, unhygienic surroundings, supply of half-cooked and insufficient food material, lack of provision for nutritious food, ill treatment of children and several instances of beating the children by wardens, making the children cook and bring food-stuffs or other provisions from market, instances of making the children work in the houses of wardens, mismanagement and corruption, lack of proper supervision and checks by higher authorities and failure to take action on them, lack of proper supervision on the children on their attendance, lack of library facilities and absence of cultural activities.¹³

Although the educational problems in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh are not different from that of the other parts of the country, there are a few peculiar problems, which need to be tackled in a different manner.

¹²For more details see K. Murali Manohar, K. Seeta Rama Rao and Janardhan Rao, "Ashram Schools for Tribals: Many Handicaps," *Mainstream*, Vol. XVIII, No. 19, Jan. 5, 1980, pp. 23-27.

¹³*Inaadu*, A Telugu daily published from Hyderabad conducted an extensive survey of Government hostels, including scheduled tribes hostels in the state on the eve of hostel students agitation during the first week of September, 1979 for better facilities and published a regular feature in the newspaper between September 11 and 9, 1979. The survey highlights a number of problems encountered by the hostel students.

Besides the organizational and structural problems discussed in the earlier pages, an attempt has been made to discuss other problems which came to the notice of the researchers during their stay in tribal areas for this study.¹⁴

A discussion of this nature would help us in evolving a more effective strategy for tribal children's education.

There is a general apathy among the tribals towards education as they are deprived of the educational facilities for centuries. As a result, a large number of tribals still cannot appreciate the importance of education. The socio-economic conditions to a large extent, forced them to develop such attitude towards education.

A large number of tribals think that educating the children is rather a waste and unnecessary for their sustenance. Since the present education system lacks immediate relevance, they think that it will not be of any use in future. Unless the educational programmes are employment and skill oriented and capable of delivering material benefits, there may not be any improvement in the educational level of tribals.

The tribal parents feel that the children are helpful to the family in their farm work, collection of forest produce, cattle rearing and domestic duties, which adds to their meagre incomes. Consequent to joining schools for education, the parents not only have to forego the small

¹⁴Besides the data collected from our own observation of the education system for tribal children in Andhra Pradesh, we also made use of the following works in enumerating the problems: (a) *Integrated Tribal Development Plans for Tribal Areas in various districts of Andhra Pradesh*, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1976; (b) *Report of the Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Tribes, 1975-76, 76-77, 77-78*, Andhra Pradesh Legislature, Assembly Secretariat, Hyderabad; (c) *Report of the Committee on Welfare of Backward Classes, 1976-77*, Andhra Pradesh Legislature, Assembly Secretariat, Hyderabad, 1977; (d) *Education Sub-plan for Tribal Areas of Andhra Pradesh*, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1977; (e) *Position Paper for the Medium Term Plans (1978-79 to 1982-83)* working group for the social welfare, Department of Social Welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1978; (f) *Report of the Working Group on Tribal Development during medium Term Plan, 1978-83*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1978; (g) A. Misra, *op. cit.*; (h) B.D. Sharma, *op. cit.*; (i) Om Mehta, *Education for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, *op. cit.*; (j) J.P. Naik, *op. cit.*; (k) Abdul L. Thana, "Planning for Educational Facilities in Madhya Pradesh". A paper presented at a seminar organised by National Institute of Rural Development, held at Hyderabad during April 19-20, 1974; (l) *Approach to Tribal Development in the Sixth Plan—A Preliminary Perspective*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, *Occasional Papers on Tribal Development*, No. 17, 1977; (m) Proceedings of Conference of Tribal Commissioners held on 14th and 15th July, 1977 at New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, *Occasional Papers on Tribal Development*, No. 18, 1977; (n) Papers presented at the *Sixth Course on Tribal Development Administration*, conducted during January 30 to February 9, 1978. Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1978; (o) *Report of the Public Accounts Committee*, Andhra Pradesh Legislature, Assembly Secretariat, Hyderabad, 1979.

earnings of the children but also shoulder the burden of feeding and providing other facilities to children. Their economic backwardness and poverty compel them to go for child-labour rather than child-education. Since the parents are not convinced of the importance of educational development, they are not favourably disposed towards children's education.

Lack of sufficient educational facilities in the tribal areas causes irreparable damage to the educational development. The distribution of the schools is lopsided and unscientific. The reasons mentioned in this regard as financial constraints, uncongenial surroundings, scattered tribal population, indifference of the community, lack of physical facilities and buildings,¹⁵ is a reflection on the government and its administration.

Syllabi and language also pose a problem. There is a communication gap between the teacher and the taught. Though majority of the tribals speak Telugu, *i.e.*, the official language of the state, in large parts of Andhra Pradesh, the accent and the language usage is completely different from the normal language. Added to this, the content of the curricula also does not relate to the experience of tribals in their day-to-day living. The uniform application of syllabi for tribals and non-tribals is another cause for communication gap. The institutional setting is also incomplete.

Instructional techniques are not scientifically developed and no special efforts are made to build up better instructional inputs. It is this factor which causes a wide gap in communication reducing the quality and effectiveness of education.

The teacher-student ratio and the choice of teacher does not match the development needs of the tribal area. The teacher-student ratio is very low, with the result tribal children are not getting personal attention they deserve. As a result the tribal children who feel generally inferior, suffer severely for want of personal attention and special treatment. Added to this, most of the teachers are neither professionally efficient nor socially sympathetic towards the development of tribal children. The mode of selection of teachers and their placements, absence of training facilities, lack of proper accommodation and other physical facilities in the tribal areas, are some of the causes for not attracting efficient teachers in the tribal areas. A large percentage of teachers working in the educational institutions of the tribal areas are non-tribals, and they consider

¹⁵*Report of the Public Accounts Committee, Andhra Pradesh Legislature, 1978-79*, deals elaborately with the problems of school buildings in Andhra Pradesh. Besides this, certain other studies also pointed out the problem of school buildings. The findings were: incomplete buildings; roofless buildings; thatched houses; buildings with lack of proper ventilation and lighting facilities; building in collapsed conditions; lack of drinking water facilities; lack of latrines and urinals; lack of furniture in classrooms such as black-boards, maps, chairs and tables, etc.

their posting to tribal areas as punishment. A frustrated and disinterested teacher may not be helpful in a developmental task. No emphasis is being laid on training the tribals, in preparing them to take up the teaching occupation and serve their community in a better way than others. Most of the schools are managed with insufficient number of teachers and there is a general absence of qualified teachers in a large number of schools. Absenteeism among the teachers is very high and no proper checks are imposed to ensure their regular attendance. There are several instances where the teachers are in the habit of maintaining their own agriculture farms, look after their private business and treat the teaching assignment as a casual affair.

The residential type of schools, and hostel facilities are comparatively meagre and do not cover all the school going children in the tribal areas. The assistance provided to the children is not substantial to substitute their absence in their homes. The incentives given to motivate the tribal children for joining educational institutions fails to fulfil the purpose. The absence of proper machinery to give adequate publicity for enrolling the tribal children and persuading the parent contributes to the gravity of the problem.

No special efforts are made to attract the children and retain them in the schools. For instance the school timings are not suitable to those tribal families who lean on the children for assistance. Vacations are not so timed as to suit the needs of the tribal areas.

Absence of physical and cultural activities in these schools works as a negative factor in attracting the children. Routine class room exercises cannot retain the interest of the children in studies. For it poses a psychological problem to the children who come from an open vicinity but are all of a sudden thrown in a different atmosphere. Children with such a background would not wish to stay within the four walls of school for a good part of the day.

The political opposition in some areas and lack of interest of the tribal leaders in the educational activity, the remoteness of the education system from the social reality, are some other reasons which hamper the growth of education in the tribal areas.

A NEW APPROACH

The main drawback in the present educational system for tribal children is the stereo type, routine and generalist type of education system. It is not different from the type of education that is offered to non-tribals. A new education policy, which is entirely different and more relevant to the needs of the tribals should be introduced. In the proposed system, children need not spend ten to twelve years in the educational institutions to attain necessary qualifications for both technical and

non-technical jobs. Ashram schools or educational institutions with suitable hostel facilities covering all tribal children should be set up and their entire education should be completed at one place. Required note books, text books, clothing and other facilities should be provided to all the children. These schools should be set up at the taluq headquarters or at a semi-urban town, where minimum physical and other facilities are available. This would help both students and teachers in their day-to-day activities and transport would not pose a problem. The type of education should be such as to enable them to have part-time jobs within the compound of educational complex so that they can earn while they learn. Part-time jobs may either be provided at the agriculture or vegetable farm, dairy or poultry farm, attached to the school or small scale industrial units established around the school, whose products are mainly useful for local consumption. The school timings and holidays should match the environmental conditions of various regions.

With regard to the instruction it should be done in the local tribal dialect as far as possible. Audio-visual techniques should be employed for this purpose. Informal conversations, less number of teaching hours, more practical and student-oriented teaching methods should help them to receive better education. The curricula should concentrate on providing an understanding of various aspects of social, economic and political processes of the nation. The curricula should be mainly based on vocational type of education with minimum knowledge of modern techniques and their application in their specified fields of agriculture, for forestry, mining, cottage industries and animal husbandry. There may be facilities for the students to continue their studies for higher education in various professional fields but the level of education achieved at the schooling should guarantee them a job that would reasonably feed them and their families.

The role of teachers is very crucial in the entire setting. He is the guardian and educator to the tribal children. The educational development depends on his commitment and performance. Qualified and trained teachers should be selected with higher emoluments and attractive incentives. Recruitment policy should include the assessment of aptitude and value pattern of each teacher before his selection. More number of lady teachers should be appointed. If his or her spouse employed in the school is qualified, they should also be accommodated somewhere in the educational complex with suitable jobs. As far as possible tribals themselves should be trained in special training institutions to take up the teaching assignments in these schools.

With regard to pre-school education, the present 'Anganwadi' experiment should be extended to all the tribal children, so that they are better equipped for school education.

Thus, the new education policy should concentrate on the complete development of the child, to make him a dignified, conscious and valuable

citizen in India of future and help to improve and develop the tribal economy in the long run.

The importance of education for the development of tribal people cannot be over emphasized. In spite of constitutional guarantees and several programmes envisaged by the successive five year plans, the educational development amongst the tribals in general and their children in particular is far from the expectations. The experience in Andhra Pradesh is no different from that of other states. The following are some of the problems revealed by this study for the failure of the government on its educational front. They are: general poverty and unemployment in tribal areas; cultural isolation; general apathy among the tribals towards education; unrealistic system of education for the present day needs; lack of physical facilities in tribal areas and absence of proper infrastructure; uneven growth of educational infrastructure; lack of sufficient facilities for pre-school education; uneven enrolment of children in various schools; involvement of multiple agencies in running the educational institutions and lack of uniformity in its management; lack of proper publicity and failure to attract the children; inaccessibility of educational institutions and lack of required number of schools; high percentage of dropout; absence of proper attention towards tribal girl-students; stagnation and wastage; unimaginative curricula and content of the syllabi; language problem and communication gap; absence of proper instructional techniques; low teacher-student ratio; inefficient and disinterested teachers; absence of physical and cultural activities in the school; failure to achieve the physical targets with regard to scholarships; inadequate supply of note books and text books and lack of sufficient number of Ashram Schools or hostels attached to schools; political opposition; and lack of interest amongst tribal leaders for furthering the objective of educating the tribal children.

To solve these problems a rational and realistic approach is required and it should be related to the day-to-day living of the tribals and their ambition. The policy should take into consideration the environment, cultural background, economic and social conditions, language content and relevance of education, school timings, vacation, school buildings and hostel facilities, supply of text books and note books, clothing and other part-time allowances, job orientation and vocational type of education for gaining immediate results. Any haphazard, hasty or unimaginative steps would only aggravate the problem and the dreams of universalizing the education among the tribals would never come true.

Welfare of the Weaker Sections—The Case of Scheduled Castes

N.K.N. Iyengar

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

Who constitute the weaker sections of the community? What protections and safeguards have to be provided for them? What policies have to be pursued and how they should be implemented in order to make the safeguards real and meaningful? These are some of the problems one is going to encounter while dealing with the weaker sections. The solution to these problems is not easy for they are closely linked with the inherited social institutions, traditions and values. The true nature of democracy is tested by the treatment given to the unfortunate sections of the community. The need for providing adequate safeguards for the weaker sections of the community has been recognised by several countries. Normally, the protection afforded aims at safeguarding the physically weak and the mentally retarded as also those who are in need of economic assistance. But in the Indian Constitution, special safeguards based upon traditional castes and tribes have been provided in the case of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes.

Outside the Constitution, the plan document deals also with the landless and the unemployed women and children as belonging to the weaker sections. Though the description of (backward classes) is commonly applied both to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, still there are enormous differences between the problems of the tribals and of the other backward classes. The magnitude of the problem is highlighted by the Committee on Untouchability in the following terms:

The population of scheduled castes and tribes, whose safeguards are required to be watched by the Commissioner of the Scheduled Castes

and Tribes is well over 10 crores, and the problems of these communities created by social injustice, isolation and exploitation are numerous and most complicated.¹

The Constitution ensures the promotion of the welfare of the weaker sections through socio-economic policies embodied in the Directive Principles of State Policy which forms Part IV—Articles 36 to 51 of the Constitution. The Parliament of India and the state legislatures are expected to carry them into execution through proper legislation. The ultimate objective is to bring in a new social order, wherein socio-economic justice is assured to all. The framers of the Constitution were conscious of the urgent need for social reform and were convinced that in the then prevailing circumstances of India, the impetus to social change could be provided by government policies and programmes. The principles set forth in this part are intended for the guidance of the State. While these principles are not cognizable by any Court, they are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and their application in making of laws shall be the duty of the State.²

Specific mention of the expression 'weaker sections' occurs only in Article 46 of the Directive:

The State shall promote with special care all the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 46 corresponds closely to the directive contained in the Irish Constitution with some minor changes to suit the needs of our country. The word 'people' was substituted for the word 'community' presumably because it was felt that the use of the former would enlarge the scope of the applicability of the provision to a larger section who need, not only economic protection, but also protection against social injustice so as to enable them to make their due contribution to national activities. The word 'education' was added to emphasise the importance of education to the weaker sections as without that, any economic assistance rendered might not be fruitful or effective. Besides, it was the lack of education amongst them that was responsible for the perpetuation of social injustice done to them. The underlying idea in this article is to afford protection to

¹Report of the Committee on Untouchability, *Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes and Connected Documents*, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, 1969, p. 399 (Hereinafter referred as *Elayaperumal Committee Report*).

²B. Shiva Rao (ed.), *The Framing of India's Constitution*, IIPA, 1968, pp. 319-320; see also *Select Documents*, Vol. II, p. 142.

promote the welfare of those who are socially handicapped due to reasons peculiar to India.³

During the discussion in the Constituent Assembly, attempts were made by some members to include 'backward classes' in the provision in the absence of the definition of 'weaker sections', but these were rejected by the Assembly.⁴

Although the expression 'weaker sections' is left vague without any definition in the Constitution, one can identify three distinct classes, namely, scheduled castes, and the scheduled tribes and the other backward classes for whom ample safeguards have been provided. These safeguards have been spread over in different parts of the Constitution like fundamental rights, financial provisions and minorities.

The terms 'the scheduled castes' and 'the scheduled tribes' are defined in clauses 24 and 25 of Article 366, but the term 'backward classes' is nowhere defined in the Constitution. Under Article 341 the President may by an order, appoint a commission to investigate the condition of the socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India. Explaining the necessity for using the term 'backward' in the Draft Constitution, B.R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, remarked in the Constituent Assembly:

We have to safeguard two things, namely, the principle of equality of opportunity and at the same time satisfy the demand of communities which have not had so far representation in the State, then, I am sure you will agree that unless you use some such qualifying phrase as 'backward' the exception made in favour of reservation will ultimately eat up the rule altogether. Nothing of the rule will remain. That I think, if I may say so, is the justification why the Drafting Committee undertook on its own shoulders the responsibility of introducing the word 'backward' which I admit did not originally find a place in the fundamental right in the way in which it was passed by this Assembly.⁵

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES TO ERADICATE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS

It is proposed to examine the constitutional safeguards and also the policies and programmes adopted by the union government to eradicate the social and economic backwardness of the scheduled castes.

³K.C. Markandan, *Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution*, 1966, pp. 209-10.

⁴*Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 553.

⁵*Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 702.

Abolition of Untouchability

To an average Indian, a Harijan⁶ is one who sweeps the barns, cleans the latrines and deskins of the dead cattle. Since he performs these scavenging and menial tasks which are not generally performed by the other sections of the community, he becomes an untouchable in the eyes of the Hindu society.

The practice of untouchability which is a blot on our society has gone on unabated for centuries. This is mainly due to Hindu social system and order, which places much emphasis on the caste system. The efforts of the early religious and social reformers did not in any way mitigate the evil, until the emergence of Gandhi as a force. Gandhi fought a life-long battle with a crusading spirit to improve their lot and he actually lived in their midst to demonstrate his sincerity of purpose. His dedicated work brought an upsurge and an awareness in them. He started a Weekly called *Harijan* devoted to the propagation of their cause. Expressing his views strongly against the entrenched caste system in the Hindu society, and the practice of untouchability, Gandhiji wrote in the *Harijan*:

Untouchability as it is practised in Hinduisim today, is, in my opinion, a sin against God and man and is, therefore, like a poison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism. In my opinion, it has no sanction whatsoever on the Hindu Shastras as a whole. . . . It has degraded both the untouchables and the touchables. It has shunted the growth of nearly 30 million human beings. They are denied even the ordinary amenities of life. The sooner, therefore, it is ended, the better for Hinduism, the better for India and perhaps the better for the mankind in general.⁷

Next to Gandhi, the name of B.R. Ambedkar deserves to be mentioned for his services to the Harijan community. As a leader of the scheduled castes he infused in them a spirit of self-respect and further urged them to assert for their economic and social rights.⁸ Soon after the advent of independence, he took a leading part in the framing of a new constitution for free India, and took care to provide adequate safeguards for them in the Constitution. The decision of the Constituent Assembly to abolish the age-old practice of untouchability was welcomed as a historic measure designed to put an end to the great social evil.⁹

⁶The name 'Harijan' as christened by Gandhi means "Children of God". Untouchables, Harijans, Depressed Classes and Scheduled Castes are synonymous.

⁷*The Harijan*, February 2, 1933.

⁸*Report of the Committees on Untouchability, etc., op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁹*Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII, p. 665.

Social Legislation

Article 17 of the Constitution declares that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden; the enforcement of any disability arising out of the untouchability has been declared as an offence punishable in accordance with law. The Parliament only has the power to make laws in this respect [Article 35 (a) (ii) of the Constitution]. It took more than four years after the promulgation of the Constitution to give legal shape to this provision and it was only in 1955 the central government enacted the Untouchability (Offences) Act. It is administered by the state governments and its implementation is reviewed by the central Government from time to time. The Act provides penalties for preventing a person on the ground of untouchability, from entering a place of public worship, offering prayers therein, or taking water from a sacred tank, well or spring; penalties are also provided for enforcing all kinds of social disabilities. For the purpose of awarding punishment, incitement or abetment of the offence has been treated in the same manner as the commission of the offence. The onus of proving the offence has been thrown on the accused. The offences under this Act are cognizable and compoundable. The punishment for this offence is 6 months' imprisonment or fine up to Rs. 500 or both.

The Elayaperumal Committee which was appointed in 1965 to examine the question of untouchability and other problems came out with startling disclosures about the treatment of untouchables. It also brought to light numerous unreported cases.

The committee has pointed out many defects in the working of the Act. In the first place, neither the centre nor the states took care to constitute the special committees to watch the working of the Act, which was very essential for the removal of social disabilities.¹⁰ Secondly, there was lack of awareness of the provisions of the Act amongst the district and police officials and the public. The Committee found even villagers complaining that the "guardians of law, who are expected to take cognizance of the offences under the Act, were mostly ignorant of it". Some of the police officers who were concerned with the implementation of the Act did not even know that such an Act was there on the Statute Book. Another important finding of the Committee was the lack of commitment on the part of officials charged with the implementation of the Act. There was no "genuine interest in their cause on the part of the executives".¹¹ In order to study the awareness of the Untouchability Act, the committee undertook a survey in a district in U.P. and brought to light many loopholes in the Act. The survey revealed that there was "a definite lack of imagination and boldness in our whole approach to the problem of removal

¹⁰ *Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

of untouchability”.

The provisions of the Untouchability Act will have to be enforced more effectively and it should be seen that proper action is taken in cases falling under the Act. As a result of the spread of education and development of economic conditions, the practice of untouchability is slowly disappearing. But in recent years, incidents involving violence towards Harijans are increasing, more especially in the rural areas. It has been admitted by the Commissioner in his report for the year 1965-66 that it is difficult to evolve a yardstick by which the existing extent of untouchability can be judged.

The Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The administrative machinery envisaged forms the most important aspect of the Constitution, for much depends on the administrative initiative in the absence of effective voluntary efforts and public leadership. Article 380 of the Constitution provides for a special officer of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to investigate all matters relating to their safeguards and report to the parliament at intervals. The Report is annually laid before the parliament.

In accordance with this provision, the post of a special officer was, for the first time, filled up in November, 1950, and designated as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes¹²

There are three closely related issues which need to be studied in this connection: (i) the status of the Commissioner, (ii) the deviation from the constitutional function, and (iii) the reports of the Commissioner.

The Status of the Commissioner ✓

The main function of the commissioner is to look into the safeguards provided in the State as to how the observance of the safeguards had worked. The status and position of the commissioner are not laid down in the Constitution as in the case of the Chief Election Commissioner or the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission. The status of the commissioner is that of a Secretary to the Government of India and his name figures under 28 of the Warrant of Precedence.¹³ The Commissioner submits his report to the President through the Minister of Social Welfare in whose Ministry the office of the Commissioner is attached for the purpose of parliamentary work.

The question of granting an independent status to the commissioner's organisation was raised from the very beginning by the first commissioner and he maintained this stand, up to his last reporting year, i.e., 1960-61.¹⁴

¹²Report of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (First Report, Department of Social Welfare, 1969), p. 55.

¹³Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 105.

The issue was raised time and again in the parliament and the ministry concerned went to the extent of asserting that the commissioner administratively was under the Ministry of Home Affairs, and he was just an officer of that ministry. The Ministry categorically stated that the Constitution did not contemplate giving the commissioner an independent status like that of the Chairman of the UPSC or the Election Commissioner.¹⁵ As pointed out by the Elayaperumal Committee, the Commissioners organisation was gradually being reduced to the position of a subordinate office of the Government of India, with the result that, he became powerless not only in respect of the various state governments, but even with the various departments and offices of the central government. He has been powerless even to collect the basic requisite data for his assessment in fulfilment of his constitutional duties.¹⁶ Further, in 1967, the Centre disbanded the commissioner's field organisation despite protests by the commissioner. Criticising the action of the Government, the Basumatari committee stated in strong terms that "the Government has crippled the organisation of the Commissioner and deprived of his eyes and ears and also denegated his office, his status, his ability and his capacity to discharge the constitutional obligations."¹⁷

This clearly shows that there is every justification for making the office of the commissioner independent so as to enable him to fulfil the obligations entrusted to him under the Constitution. The Elayaperumal Committee strongly recommended that "the Commissioner must not only be given a really independent status with clearly defined and codified powers, responsibilities and jurisdiction of action, but his field organisation as existing before the 1967 reorganisation must also be immediately restored, further strengthened and systematised."¹⁸ The Basumatari Committee, supporting the above views, felt the Commissioner as a special officer of the President, should be given a higher status at least equal to that of the Chairman of the UPSC and the Chief Election Commissioner. It also recommended that the matters relating to functions, status, tenure and also the organisation of the commissioner, should be laid down by an Act of Parliament.¹⁹

Assumption of Development Functions

Another disturbing development affecting the independence of the Commissioner's organisation was the assumption of the developmental

¹⁵Ministry of Home Affairs, O M dated 19th February, 1960.

¹⁶*Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc. op. cit.*, p. 398.

¹⁷*Report of the Committee on the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (First Report), op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁸*Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., op. cit.*, p. 400.

¹⁹*Report of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (First Report), op. cit.*, p. 55.

functions deviating from the specific role envisaged in the Constitution. The Constitution empowers the special officer to investigate only matters relating to the safeguards provided in the Constitution, but, over the years, the office of the commissioner assumed the role of an executive agency by increasingly associating itself with the examination of schemes for grants-in-aid under various state governments and non-official agencies for the development of scheduled castes and tribal areas. The commissioner's office also assumed the role of evaluating the welfare activities relating to scheduled castes. The assumption of non-statutory duties by the commissioner went not only unnoticed for a long time but even it was actively encouraged by the ministry.

The Estimates Committee²⁰ and also other governmental committees²¹ expressed serious doubts over the desirability of the commissioner getting involved in the examination of the schemes of the state governments or the examination of the accounts of the non-official organisations receiving grants from the centre as also serving as a nominee of the central government on the managing committees of several non-official organisations. The Estimates Committee strongly recommended that the Commissioner be fully detached in his work and should not be associated with the work of the formulation of the schemes as he would have to criticise them later. The recommendation of the Estimates Committee was not accepted by the Government. The result was that the Commissioner continued to be associated with the examination of these schemes—a function which was devolved on him not by any government resolution or notification but by an informal arrangement made by the Ministry of Home Affairs, which later on turned out to be a convention.²²

It was in February, 1967, that there was an awareness of the fact that the commissioner who had to play an independent role as a critic of government policies and actions should not get involved in the implementation of schemes. The Basumatari Committee was firmly of the opinion that the commissioner should not be called upon by the government to express any opinion as to the suitability or otherwise of development schemes because the commissioner has to function as an effective assessor of the government policies and act as enjoined on him under Article 338 of the Constitution. Similarly, he should not be represented on any of the government committees set up to approve or chalk out schemes for development purposes. It was, however, open to the government to consult the

²⁰Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha 48th Report, 1958-59), Ministry of Home Affairs, (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes.)

²¹The Study Team on Social Welfare of backward classes was set up by the Committee on Plan Projects of the Planning Commission under the chairmanship of Smt. Renuka Ray; The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs under the chairmanship of U.N. Dhebar.

²²*Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, op. cit.* p. 11.

commissioner and seek his advice.²³

Report of the Commissioner

Some criticisms have also been levelled against the presentation and preparation of the annual reports by the commissioner. The Constitution provides that reports of the commissioner should be laid only before the House of Parliament. There is no constitutional obligation to lay the report of the commissioner before the state legislatures. Further, the commissioner's reports have hitherto been prepared mainly for presentation to parliament; they have not been drafted state-wise nor they have covered all the states. The Basumatari Committee has recommended that arrangements should be made for the presentation of the report of the commissioner to the state legislatures. On the question of effecting improvements in the coverage of the report, the committee has suggested that the report should be prepared on subject as well as state basis. Endeavour should also be made to include in the Report a statement showing the action taken by the government, both central and state, on the recommendations contained in the Report.

The reports of the commissioner have remained mainly at the recommendatory level and the States have not given full cooperation in submitting to the commissioner a report of the action taken on the various recommendations. As aptly pointed out by the Elayaperumal Committee: "His annual reports are a record of his bewailings and beseechings year after year."²⁴

The matters relating to the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are looked after by two ministers. The matters relating to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in services are dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the remaining matters concerning them are dealt with by the Department of Social Welfare. The question whether the welfare of the scheduled castes should remain under the Home Ministry or any other ministry has assumed importance in view of the present unsatisfactory arrangement. The victims of this unfortunate controversy are the weaker sections, who depend mainly upon the official agencies for their uplift. The Basumatari Committee, which went into the problem has recommended that all matters relating to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be entrusted to the Home Ministry so as to achieve proper coordination and effective implementation of the programmes.²⁵ By and large, what is really needed is an effective independent machinery which can faithfully implement the constitutional safeguards.

²³*Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁴*Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc. op. cit.*, p. 398.

²⁵*Report of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, First Report, op. cit.*, p. 60.

SPECIAL SAFEGUARDS FOR SCHEDULED CASTES

Under Article 330 and 332 of the Constitution, seats are reserved for the scheduled castes in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabhas in proportion to their population. This reservation was provided due to the backward position of these communities, which made it necessary that their representatives should be members of the legislatures and actively participate in the political life of the community. The reservation was initially limited to 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution (Article 334).

In the Constituent Assembly, there was a great deal of anxiety expressed by some members representing the scheduled castes that the period of 10 years' would be insufficient and that reservations might be necessary even thereafter.²⁶ Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, himself was prepared to press for a longer period but he pointed out that the 10 years period was the result of a general agreement among the parties accepted by the Assembly. If, at the end of 10 years, the conditions of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes had not improved; or they wanted a further extension of the period, "it would not be beyond their capacity or their intelligence to invent new ways of getting the same protection which they were promised here."²⁷ The reservation was extended by 10 years in 1950 by the Constitutional (Eighth Amendment) Act, which substituted the words 'twenty years' for the word 'ten years' in Article 334. It was felt that the object sought to be achieved by reservation of the seats for the scheduled castes was not achieved.

Serious doubts have been expressed by many over the continued extension of the reservation period, ignoring the political realities of the situation. Commenting on the extension of reservation, a leading Newspaper observed:

They (reserved seats) are a formidable reservoir of political power which no authority at the Centre or in the States can afford to ignore. The only relevant question, therefore, is whether those holding the reserved seats want to keep them and since apparently they do, nobody is interested in asking whether the social purposes for which reservations were created had or being achieved. The evasion is inevitable. Since, by and large, the members elected to the reserved seats are drawn from the better educated and relatively more prosperous sections, it is at least arguable that the extension of the reservation for a further period is not going to correct this imbalance justifying for continuing the system of reserved seats. There has to be clearly established

²⁶ *C.A. Debates*, Vol. IX, pp. 671-677 and 682.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 696-7. See also B. Shiva Rao (ed.), *The Framing of India's Constitution*, p. 776.

a connection between the continuance of the system and the progressive amelioration in the condition of the backward classes.”²³

This shows that reservation has acquired political overtones drifting from the intended social purposes. Unfortunately, the Elayaperumal Committee which dealt at length on several matters did not examine this issue. To a certain extent, the continued reservation has vitiated our electoral system, and the time has come for a critical assessment of the reservation in terms of qualitative results.

The Constitution provides sufficient provision to ensure the adequate representation of the scheduled castes in various government services and posts. Under Article 335 of the Constitution, a general direction to the union and state governments is given for giving special consideration to the claims of the members of the scheduled castes in services, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency in administration. This has been left outside the purview of obligatory consultation with the Public Service Commission. Further, Article 16(4) of the Constitution makes it clear that the union as well as the state governments may make provision for the reservation of appointments in favour of the scheduled castes.

The orders issued by the central and state governments for the enforcement of Article 335 is quite exhaustive. The Government of India have made the following reservation for the scheduled castes in the services under their control:

- (i) *Direct Recruitment*: 12½ per cent of the vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment in the case of recruitment to posts and services on an all-India basis by open competition, *i.e.*, through the UPSC or by means of open competitive tests held by any other authority. Where direct recruitment is made otherwise than by open competition, reservation is 16⅔ per cent.
- (ii) *Reservation in Promotion*: Prior to November 1963, reservations were provided for scheduled castes, 12½ per cent in all posts filled by promotion through limited competitive examinations open to departmental candidates. There was no reservation in posts filled by promotion, selection, or on the basis of seniority-cum-fitness in any appointment, whether in Class I, II, III or IV. 25 +

To facilitate adequate representation, concessions, such as relaxation in age limit, relaxation in the standard of suitability and qualifications and selection, subject to the fulfilment of the minimum standard of efficiency are prescribed for. If no suitable scheduled castes or scheduled tribes candidates are available for reserved posts, they are treated as unreserved

²³*The Times of India*, November 3, 1969 (Edl.)

and an equal number of reservations are carried forward to two recruitment years. On no occasion, however, the number of reserved vacancies is to exceed 45 per cent of the total vacancies. To give proper effect to the reservation, model rosters of 40 posts each have been prescribed for recruitment by open competition and otherwise if the vacancies in a service or cadre are too few for the purpose, all corresponding posts are grouped together. The annual reports are required to be submitted by the employing authorities for scrutiny by the government.

To bring about a greater awareness for ensuring effective implementation of the special reservation order, liaison officers have been appointed in the different ministries of the union government. Arrangements have also been made at Allahabad, Madras and Punjab for intensive training and coaching facilities to enable scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates to compete on merit for all India services. Some of the state governments have also drawn up rules for the reservation of posts for these classes and steps have been taken to increase their representation in state services. During 1968-69, a high power committee was set up under the chairmanship of the Home Minister to review the progress of employment of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under the Government of India and the union territories and the public sector undertakings. A new scheme of career planning was introduced in several states from 1966 to 1967 to assist the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in obtaining suitable employment under the state governments as well as in the private sector.

Much progress has been made in enabling large numbers of scheduled castes to get into all-India services and central services. Yet, it is recognised that this is only a stage in development, and much leeway has to be made up. Both the Elayaperumal and the Basumatari Committees have pleaded for more representation and relaxation in rules, etc., for the scheduled castes. This actually poses a big problem for policy-makers, in evolving suitable policy within the framework of the Constitution, namely, while in providing special weightage in the various government services for the scheduled castes, the efficiency of administration should be maintained.

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES FOR THE SCHEDULED CASTES

Welfare Programmes

Under Article 339 of the Constitution, the union government can give direction to states in the formulation and execution of schemes for the welfare of scheduled castes in the states. Under Article 275(1), the centre is required to give grants-in-aid to the states for approved schemes of welfare for improving the tone of administration in the scheduled areas.

In order to raise the social, educational and economic standards of the

backward classes, special schemes have been taken up under the five year plans. They are intended to supplement the general programmes in various sectors. The ultimate aim is to fulfil the objectives of the Directive Principles of State Policy that the state will promote with special care the economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, particularly scheduled castes and tribes. These can be achieved by seeing that, in the implementation of the programmes, the weakest are looked after first and the benefits of development are made to flow by planned investment in the underdeveloped regions and among the more backward sections of the community.²⁹

The central government is concerned with the formulation of the national policy, determination of overall priorities for development, allocation of financial assistance for certain programmes and evaluation of the performance. The main schemes for the development of backward classes, which cover the field of agriculture, education and housing are implemented by the state governments as these are state subjects.

The tempo of harijan welfare work has been steadily rising as is clear from the progressive increase in the financial allocations from the First to the Fifth Plan: The Elayaperumal Committee states that the economic assistance for the scheduled castes is too inadequate and that the 65 million belonging to the scheduled castes, according to the 1961 census, have gained little from the Plan outlays.³⁰

The economic conditions of the Harijan population in rural areas has assumed serious proportions. Most of the rural Harijans are agricultural labourers and their problem is connected with the application of wage rates based on needs. Landlessness among them is the major problem confronting their growth. Their dependence on the Hindu community for their existence and their helplessness to change from their traditional occupation have made them victims of exploitation and ill-treatment. Indebtedness among them has proved to be one of the acute problems and all efforts for their betterment are nullified by this chronic problem. The Elayaperumal Committee has suggested provision of free house sites and better accommodation, industry, particularly cottage industries, to divert at least some of them from agricultural field; land allotment and colonisation for their settlement in their traditional profession of agriculture and uniting them under cooperative movement in the respective fields of their occupation.³¹

The problems of landless Harijans require immediate attention and much of the social work has to be diverted to this field. The attempts so far made to provide land for them is marginal, and in a number of cases

²⁹*Fourth Five Year Plan, 1969-74, Planning Commission, p. 28.*

³⁰*Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., pp. 109-10,*

³¹*ibid., p. 110.*

it has resulted in uneconomic holdings. In order to make the holdings viable, the Commissioner has suggested in his report of 1968-69 that steps be taken early to form autonomous boards on the lines of the Dandakaranya Development Authority to control the allotment of land to the scheduled castes and tribes.

The Government has launched massive welfare schemes for the weaker sections since independence under the five year plans supplemented by general schemes but the progress has been frustrated by faulty implementation. The crux of the problem is that despite the large sums allocated for their welfare, the benefits do not reach those who are in dire need. In his report of 1967-68, the Commissioner has pointed out that "touring some States, he is reminded of the fact that the special benefits for scheduled castes are not sufficient for all those who deserve them."³² One effect of this is that "the financial assistance from the Government or other help in securing employment or an all-round development is exhausted long before they reach the lowest strata of the poverty-stricken". In other words, the money is either misspent, misappropriated or unaccounted for. This actually has given rise to some rethinking on the operation of the various aided welfare programmes and a comprehensive assessment of their impact has become absolutely necessary. It may be recalled that the Dhebar Commission had pointed out that there was no correlation between the resources made available and the absorptive capacity of the people to be benefited.

Educational development of scheduled castes has been given the highest priority in the development programmes of all the state governments, to bring them on par with the rest of the community. It is an acknowledged fact that educational development is the essential prerequisite for the all-round development of any community. Once the scheduled castes become educated, their emancipation from social degradation is relatively easy. Much progress has been made to educate the scheduled castes since independence but the goal of making their literacy level equal to that of the rest of the community is still too far.³³

Though education is mainly a state subject, the central government is expected to lay down broad policies and coordinate state's activities. The central government has entered in a big way in the educational development of scheduled castes. Besides making allocation of funds in the five year plans, many other concessions are also offered to them. These concessions include free tuition, scholarships, stationery and other equipment. Efforts have also been made to spread education among the members of the scheduled castes who educationally are at a very low level and to reduce dropouts and wastages at the middle and secondary level.

³²*Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1967-68*, p. 18.

³³*Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., op. cit.*, p. 181.

In the field of higher education, the scheme of post-matric scholarships occupies an important place. The scheme was introduced by the Government of India in 1944 and up to the year 1958-59 this scheme was centrally operated by the Ministry of Education. With a view to avoid delay in the disbursement of these scholarships, the scheme was decentralised in 1959-60. Subsequently, the administration of the scheme was transferred to the Department of Social Welfare in 1968.

There were complete regulations prescribed by the Ministry of Education for grant of scholarships under this scheme. On the basis of a recent review by the Department of Social Welfare, a revised scheme was evolved by introducing many changes in the old regulations.

The announcement of the new scheme immediately evoked criticism both inside and outside parliament. The restrictive conditions introduced in the new regulations were so glaring that the Basumatari Committee took special note of it. The government was requested to withdraw the regulations immediately and the minister concerned informed the committee that he had stayed the operation of the new regulations.

The formulation of the scheme and the adverse reaction thereto indicate the deficiencies in the revision of policies. No attempt seems to have been made to discuss the scheme with the representatives of the beneficiaries and forge a consensus about its promulgation. The administrative steps towards smooth implementation from the point of view of beneficiaries also do not seem to receive much attention.

Vested Interest in Backwardness

The Harijan leadership is at present unfortunately caught up in the coils of political scrambles. Representation for Harijans in the legislatures or in the cabinet in no way has helped to accelerate the much-needed socio-economic reforms. It has on the other hand created a vested interest in prolonging segregation in the form of safeguards. The dissenting note of R. Achutan, a Harijan Member of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., is revealing:

Existence and continuation of caste system in India is essential for the survival of individuals and organisations. They are the root cause of this practice. Such persons are there, not only among caste-Hindus but also among scheduled castes. It is they who actually spoil the cause of Harijans. They get liberal grant from the Government for eradication of untouchability and for the upliftment of the so-called down-trodden people. Though they themselves are Harijans, they mis-utilise the grants from the Government and try to keep the Harijans down-trodden for ever for their own benefit. It is this sort of Harijan leaders who are more dangerous than their caste Hindu enemies.³¹

³¹Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., *op. cit.*, p. viii.

The vested interests can also be seen in the attempts of some people in placing a premium on backwardness. It is interesting to note the observation of the Commissioner in his report of 1967-68:

A hint was given in my last report that backwardness has a tendency to perpetuate itself and become a vested interest. If the ultimate goal of a casteless society is to be attained, the lists of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and even of other backward classes will have to be reduced from year to year and replaced in due course by a list based on the criteria of income-cum-merit.³⁵

Surprisingly, the lists of the scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes, since the commencement of the Constitution, have more additions than deletions. In other words, the intentions of the framers of the special provisions in the Constitution have been ignored and we witness a march in the opposite direction. Further, in the case of scheduling of 'Other Backward Classes', there is a competition among the groups on the border of backwardness for inclusion in the backward list so as to claim special treatment.

It is here that enlightened leadership is called for. What is required is a concerted effort of public leaders, social workers, reformers and other enlightened citizens. They should influence the Government to formulate appropriate policies and programmes that would facilitate the realisation of the objectives declared in the Directive Principles of State Policy.

The progress of the scheduled castes lies not in constitutional safeguards which merely provide a framework but in wise leadership, with clear appreciation of the aims and objectives. But, on the whole, the leadership has shown lack of identification and total involvement in the cause of Harijans as exemplified by Gandhiji during his life-time. The leadership should come from the Harijans themselves in order to bring about a deep social consciousness and awareness in the society in general and among the affected groups in particular.

CONCLUSION

It is distressing to see that even after thirty years of the commencement of the Constitution, and despite the legislative measures like the Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955, and other Acts, the condition of the scheduled castes has not substantially improved. The social segregation is still a stark reality in the rural areas and also in some urban areas.

Attempts made by the Government to improve their lot by setting up

³⁵ *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1967-68*, p. 18.

committees, commissions, working groups and advisory boards, have still remained at the advisory level. The annual reports of the Commissioner have not made any perceptible impact either on the floor of the House or on the Government.

The massive welfare development measures under the Five Year Plans, have not contributed much to eradicate backwardness of the community. Another distressing factor is that the benefits accruing from the various programmes for this section of the population has gone to the more politically articulated sections among them. In other words, the really deserving are denied the benefits. The steps taken to improve the employment opportunities for them have not even touched the fringe of the problem. Even though enormous amounts of money have been spent on education, the result is very disappointing. It has in no way contributed to the modernising of the community.

The special safeguards which were conceived as short-term measures to provide the benefits to this section of the community have come to stay. This has created a vested interest and the emerging leadership is likely to exploit them. A time has come to distinguish between the deserving groups among the scheduled castes and to identify the really backward to merit state assistance.

The scheduled castes are also equally responsible for this unhappy state of affairs. They have developed too much reliance on safeguards and reservation in services and legislature for the advancement of their social and economic conditions. This has generated a sense of helplessness and lack of self-confidence. These safeguards have been hindering the process of their assimilation with the mainstream of the society. The policies and programmes meant for integration have, for administrative convenience at the field level, even operated in such a manner as to satisfy the needs rather than facilitate integration.³⁶ The weaker sections must also develop their own leadership and capacities to be able to stand on their own legs and compete progressively with other sections of the community.

It would not be wise to rely solely on legislation to achieve the objective of radical social change. Poverty alone is not the cause of untouchability and social barriers in India. The real disease behind untouchability is prejudice in respect of unclean occupation and low hereditary status. Unless this prejudice is eliminated untouchability cannot be uprooted. Besides, the entrenched caste system in the Hindu society has come in the way of real progress. The crux of the problem is how to achieve the transformation of the Hindu society and a social breakthrough. The failure so far has been due to the prevailing social ethos and changing it is necessarily a slow process. It is noted that plans have failed to produce the social

³⁶V. Jagannadham, "Administration of Welfare Programmes for Weaker Sections", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XVI, July-Sept., 1970, p. 367.

change and the ambivalent attitude in social matters still persists.³⁷ An effective strategy for social change requires an identification of change-resisting groups who constitute the vested interests. This can be better attacked if change is more scientifically planned.³⁸ □

³⁷Report of the Committee on Untouchability, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³⁸T.K. Ooman, "Strategy for Social Change—A Study of Untouchability," *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 22, 1968, p. 933.

Anthropological Approach to the Development of Primitive Tribe

L.P. Vidyarthi

THE tribal people of India mostly live in the forests, hills, plateaus and isolated regions, and are differently termed as *vanyajati* (forest castes), *vanavasi* (original settlers), *jan jati* (folk communities), *anusuchit jan jati* (scheduled tribes) and several such other names signifying either their ecological or economic or historical or cultural characteristics. Among these nomenclature the most popular term is *adivasi* while the constitutional name for them is *anusuchit jan jati* (scheduled tribes).

There are altogether 427 tribal communities all over India. According to the 1971 census, the total strength of the tribal communities comes to 38 million (380,15,162) which constitutes 6.94 per cent of the total Indian population. These tribal communities live in ecologically marginal areas of India, and are of different race, language, education, economy and levels of socio-cultural integration.¹

These tribes of India may be broadly classified into seven cultural types. These are: (1) forest hunting type, (2) primitive hill-cultivation type, (3) plain agriculture type, (4) simple artisan type, (5) the pastoral and cattle-breeder type, and (6) industrial—urban workers type.

Each type of tribes have developed a distinct style of life which can be best understood in context of nature-man-spirit complex.² In the present context this paper is mainly concerned with the forest-hunting and food-

¹D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India*, (4th Edn.), Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961; and L.P. Vidyarthi and B.M. Roy, *Tribal Culture of India*, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1970.

²L.P. Vidyarthi, "Cultural Types in Tribal Bihar: A Methodological Approach", *Anthropology Tomorrow*, Chicago, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January, 1958, and *The Maler: A Study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of a Hill Tribe*, Calcutta, Bookland Private Ltd., 1963.

gathering societies which fall within the first category. However, a brief reference would be made about the distinctive features of the tribes of other categories, before discussion about the forest hunting type is taken up.

The tribes, who live in the forest and are exclusively dependent on forest for their livelihood by practising hunting, gathering of roots and fruits and food collecting fall under the forest hunting type tribe. They live in huts made of the materials found in the forest. With their primitive technology, limited skill and deep traditional and ritual practices, their entire style of life revolves round forest. Such tribes, though numerically less, are distributed all over India in different states. Taking their geographical location into consideration, there are Raji, Soka in the Cis-Himalayan region, the Kukis and section of the Nagas in the North-eastern Himalayas, and the Birhor, the Hill Kharia, the Korwas, the Juangs and the Hill Maria in Middle India. The major concentration of this type of tribe is in south India—the Chenchus and Yanadis in Andhra Pradesh, the Kadar, the Mala Pantaram, the Arandars and Kurumba in Kerala, the Puliyans and Kurumba in Tamil Nadu, and the Onge, the Jaravas, the Sentinelse, the Shompen and the section of Nicobarese in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

There are several other, little-known and isolated minor and politically inarticulate primitive communities, who have remained neglected by National and State Governments. A time-bound scientific efforts are needed to ameliorate the conditions of these so-called primitive communities.

About 2.6 million tribes, living in the interior hill areas and practising Shifting Cultivation form the primitive hill cultivation type. The practice of Shifting Cultivation is locally known as *jhum* in north-eastern Himalayan region, *pady* and *dahi* in Orissa, *penda* and *bewar* in Madhya Pradesh, *kurwa* or *khallu* in Bihar and *konda paddy* in Andhra Pradesh. This is the survival or incipient and ancient method of cultivation.

The practice of hill cultivation is widespread specially in the hilly forested north-eastern regions of India—Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, part of Bihar. Rajmahal Hills in middle India and Andhra Pradesh in south India. Among the tribes of central eastern India, a mention may be made of the *maler*, the Hill Kharia, the *korwa* and the *parahiya* in Bihar, the *savera* and the *khuttia khond* in Orissa and the *baiga* and the *maria gond* in Madhya Pradesh.

The major bulk of tribal population in India (80%) are agriculturists, though they supplement their economy with activities like hunting, gathering and fishing. Tribal agriculture, however, is characterised by unproductive and uneconomic holdings, land alienation, indebtedness, lack of credit facilities, lack of irrigational facilities in the undulating terrain as well as use of traditional primitive skill and primitive implements.

Their style of life is marked with seasonal and agricultural festivals, ancestor worship, *rites de passage*, drinks, dance, songs and belief in spirits. They form the Plain Agriculture type.

A number of tribes, for their livelihood, practise crafts like basket-making (bamboos), tool-making (iron or wood), spinning and weaving and metal work. With their traditional skill and primitive instruments, and with the locally available raw materials in the forest and hills. They are the Simple Artisan type. They make several objects which are needed by the agricultural tribes. In addition, to meet the requirements of the major tribes, they carry their goods to weekly tribal bazars either for barter or cash sale. They observe respective craft based rituals and festivals and thus, their traditions are tied with the craft they practise. While 2.47 per cent of the tribals working population (1961) were engaged in such craft and household industries, its number is on the decrease, owing to the inroads of factory-made goods. The tribes like *gujjar* (Kashmir) and *kinnauris* (Himachal Pradesh) produce wood products, the *kanjar* (U.P.) and the *mahali* (Bihar, M.P., Orissa) are engaged, in basket-making, the *karmali* (Middle India) in iron-smithy, the *asur* and *agaria* (Bihar, M.P.) in iron smelting, the *chick baraik* (Bihar and M.P.) in cloth weaving, etc. A number of tribes of south India, *i.e.*, *inula*, *totis*, *vitollas* are engaged in making bamboo mats and baskets.

The classic locus of pastoral tribes of India is Nilgiri in south India, where live the pastoral Todas. The *todas* are purely a pastoral tribe and in spite of all efforts to make them agriculturists they continue to cling to pastoralism. In the north-western Himalayas *gujjars*, the *bakarwals*, the *gaddis* and *jadhs* are pastoral communities who roam with their flocks of sheep, goats and cattle in search of pasture even on high attitude. The *bharwad* or *maldhari* and the *raisipotra* of Gujarat and *rabaris* of Gujarat and Rajasthan are the cattle-herders of western India. The *gollas*, the *kurubhadis* are the herders in south India. These pastoral communities living in different parts of India in different ecological settings have adjusted themselves in different ways. Along with the ecological adjustment, their rituals and festivals also revolve round the animals which are their constant companions.

Most of the tribal areas, especially the entire belt of middle India are rich in mining and industrial resources which remained mainly unexplored before the British Rule. After the World War I and specially after India's independence, the tribal belt of middle India is in the grip of industrial revolution. Consequent upon a rapid urbanisation in a comparatively short span of time 'industry-based explosion' has metamorphosed some of the rural tribal belts. They are urban-Industrial worker type. In the present context the industrial urbanisation in certain tribal belts of Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh have greatly affected the folk and peasant tribal population. Studies of the socio-cultural implication of industriali-

sation in the tribal belt of Bihar bring to light the nature and extent of uprooting of tribal villages, industrial nomadism, loss of traditional occupation, home and health, unemployment and unfair competition with the migrants in the labour market, high aspiration and great frustration. All these find reflected in different types of unrest and agitation in industrially dominated tribal areas.³

While it is not possible or desirable to halt the process of industrialisation, the planners must contemplate built-in safeguards for the interest of the scheduled tribes in these areas. Industrial progress must not be allowed to destroy human dignity and worth. Severe measures will have to be contemplated to stop further encroachment on tribal land and exploitation of tribal resources. Steps have to be devised to accelerate the process of smooth transformation.

Having placed the typology of the tribes of India before the readers, the paper would discuss some general issues relating to the strategies for the development of the tribes falling specially in the first category, *i.e.*, the forest-hunting type. For these tribes living in ecological isolation, in the state of preliteracy, and, finally in simple techno-economic situations, the various unflattering designations of 'savages', 'barbarians', 'primitives' and 'aboriginals' are often used. It appears however, to be unfair in the light of current anthropological thinking to give these names to technologically backward, but culturally not low communities.

Following a more modern line of approach, we call them 'marginal' or 'preliterate' or 'prefarming' societies to indicate their precise ecological, modern educational and contemporary economic problems. It is quite clear that some of the authors, taking the partial view of *nature-man* adjustments, or following the evolutionary sequences have labelled them as 'primitive peoples'. But when they study their folk wisdom, their moral and spiritual orders, they reflect a standard or a level of morality, sociability, integrity, honesty, peacefulness which are much higher than most of their more techno-economically advanced fellowmen. In view of these, it is better to use such positive terms which help us in understanding the total temper, the ethos or the 'nature-man-spirit' complex of a hunting and/or food-gathering or prefarming communities. The adoption of other qualifying terms as 'primary subsistence band', used by Julian Steward⁴ in

³L.P. Vidyarthi, "Socio-Cultural Implications of Industrialisation in Tribal Bihar", *The Anthropologist*, (Special Number), Vol. 11, 1968 and "Socio-cultural Implications of Industrialisation in India: Tribal Bihar, A Case Study", Planning Commission, Publication: Distributor, Council of Social and Cultural Research, Bihar, Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi, 1970.

⁴Julian H. Steward, "Casual Factors and Processes in the Evolution of Prefarming Societies" *Man the Hunter*, (eds.), Richard B. Lee and Irven DeVore, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1968, pp. 320-334 and "Postscript to Bands: on Taxonomy, Processes Causes, in *Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies*, (ed.), David Damas, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 228, Ottawa (Canada), The Queen's Printer, 1968, pp. 288-295.

terms of social structure and by Gisbert⁵ as *food gatherers*: (1) marginals and (2) lower hunters and *food producers* (pastoral and incipient agriculturists) in terms of method of acquiring 'food' also help in understanding the socio-economic situations. The use of such nomenclature may lead to change the psychological attitudes of the civilised peoples towards the so-called primitive societies. At the academic level, one of the advantages of such classifications is that these presuppose no theory about man and society.

Another phenomenon that must be noted here is that of change. The 'marginal' as termed by Ratzel or 'preliterate' as termed by Gishert, societies are everywhere on the move. The direction and rate of change, of course, vary. The change may add to the health of the community or there may have 'loss of the nerve'. The process may be slow or fast in the context of the agencies of change operating among the communities or areas. Among the same tribe, certain sections may under a rapid transformation acquire characteristics that may disqualify them to be categorised as 'preliterate' or 'prefarming' though some of their social customs may persist. S.C. Roy⁶ used the term 'primitive' for the *munda* and *oraon* some sixty years ago while Majumdar⁷ also liberally uses this term to indicate the economic conditions of the *Hos* about forty years ago. However, in general, from no angle we can use these terms for most of the major tribes which have rapidly undergone transformation after India's independence and are getting integrated with the rest of the Indian societies, though certain sections of them are still relatively backward.

The focus of this workshop is on the marginal, preliterate, relatively isolated hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivating tribes which continue to persist unchanged or partly changed even today in central-eastern India.

During the last twenty-five years, the tribals who have remained the least beneficiaries are those living in isolated hilly and forest areas of certain districts of central-eastern India. These are minor tribes which have not been able to attract the attention of the policy makers and administrative machinery so far owing to their isolation and lack of preparedness to face the challenge of backwardness. The problems of these less developed tribal communities of Bihar need to be taken on urgent and priority basis. In view of their unique economic educational as well as other specific problems, community-based schemes should be prepared on the basis of their

⁵P. Gisbert, *Preliterate Man: A Synthetic View of Primitive Man*, Bombay, P.C. Manaktala and Sons Pvt. Ltd.) 1967. (First Chapter on Food-Gatherers and Hunters), pp. 1-11.

⁶S.C. Roy, *The Mundas and Their Country*, Calcutta, City Book Society, 1912 and *The Oraons of Chotanagpur: Their History, Economic Life and Social Organisation*, Ranchi, Bar Library, 1915.

⁷D.N. Majumdar, *A Tribe in Transition: A Study in Culture Pattern*, London, Longmans Green & Co., 1937.

felt-needs. For the nomadic Birhor, a set of educational and economic schemes should be prepared which could be evidently different from those of hill-dwelling Maler or the traditional iron smelters, the Asur. It is suggested that in the light of relevant ethnographic studies of each of the following tribes, a community-based, scientifically oriented scheme, be prepared for each of the minor tribes which are evidently the most backward tribal communities of the state.

While emphasising this approach one should try to give attention to the colonisation schemes of the Birhor in Ranchi district and that of the Maler in Santhal Parganas, which had evidently failed as they were not based on the genius of the respective tribal communities. In view of these experiences, it is envisaged that on the basis of higher priority the following tribes be studied from the point of view of applied and action oriented research and scientific plans be chalked out for their all-round development.⁸

List of more Backward Tribal Communities in Bihar

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Literacy Percentage (less than 1 is nil)</i>
1.	Asur	5,819	4.40
2.	Baija	951	—
3.	Birhor	2,438	—
4.	Binjhia	6,725	—
5.	Chick Baraik	30,770	—
6.	Karmali	26,590	—
7.	Hill Kharia	10,983	—
8.	Kisan	12,011	—
9.	Korwa	21,162	4.88
10.	Mahli	67,970	—
11.	Mal Paharia	43,423	3.61
12.	Maler (Saoria Paharia)	55,606	2.24
13.	Parhiya	12,268	—
14.	Sa'ar	1,561	—

It is heartening to note that the task-force on the development of the tribal areas of the National Planning Commission highlighted the problems of these marginal, pre-farming and preliterate communities for their development during the fifth plan. In response to the recommendation of the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Home Affairs has made an initial

⁸L.P. Vidyarthi, "Needed Urgent Research for the Fifth Five Year Plan for the Tribes of Bihar", *Vanyajati*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1973, pp. 7-8.

allocation of Rs. ten crores and has issued guidelines to all the State Governments to give priority to the study and development of such extremely backward communities. It is unfortunate, however, that only a few lakhs of rupees could be spent so far as the task is stupendous, and in the absence of community-based development projects and dedicated workers, the challenging task could not be met with the desired urgency and concern so far.

The department of Anthropology, of the University of Ranchi has undertaken the Action Research among the Birhor community in Hazaribagh and Giridih districts. Along with the study of the life and culture of the Birhor, from development angles, certain development programmes for imparting education and developing their economy have also been undertaken. The Birhor bands (temporary *tanda* or encampment with an average population of about 50 persons) are being located and they are being classified in terms of functional clusters and segments for purposes of development operation. It is hoped that the project would contribute to the theory and methods of development anthropology.

To sum up, certain broad generalisations may be made about the so-called 'primitive' and minor tribes of India:

- That, the problems of each marginal tribe are unique in themselves and hence on the basis of intensive research the community-based schemes should be prepared in the light of their respective ecological settings, their unique techno-economic traditions, and above all the level of socio-cultural integration.
- That, in general, the tripartite problems of education, economy, and health deserve priority among these marginal and preliterate communities and they need to be tackled in the light of the genius of the respective cultural pattern. Educationally, the literacy is almost nil, economically, they are below subsistence level and continue to earn their food with the primitive technology. In terms of health, in spite of all struggles, they suffer from extreme type of malnutrition and eke out their existence on 4047 calories per family while the estimate requirement is that of 10,437 calories. In some cases they are being threatened with demographic extinction.
- That, the routinised and governmental approach to development need to be replaced by more functional, imaginative and scientific approach so that the desired results could be achieved. Such an approach could develop only when the planners, the social and medical scientists, development officers and the voluntary organisations including the dedicated students of Anthropology come together under one institutional frame to formulate policy, train the personnel, implement the schemes, evaluate and monitor them and gear together the resources and the skill for the completion of the

goals in shortest possible time. In other words the problems of the marginal communities have to be conceived in terms of clinical situation and cured with an attitude of 'a social doctor' who diagnoses the disease, prescribes the medicine, follows up the treatment till the normal health is recovered.

- That, though the development of the marginal tribes be integrated with the schemes of the respective states, the administrative boundary ordinarily need not hamper the speedy implementation of the development programmes owing to the distance from the Block Headquarters. There are certain tribes like the Birhor and the Hill Kharias which transcend even the state boundaries. For such tribes common programmes for development may be thought out and such machinery for implementation be ensured which may cut across state or district boundaries. Owing to inaccessibility of the primitive pockets in the remote hilly and forested areas, such lands may be allocated for development purposes to the nearest administrative and development authorities.
- That, the problems of the marginal tribes be handled on a priority basis and a team of dedicated, enlightened and trained researchers and workers be prepared who can handle the situation with utmost concern. These workers should not go to them with the anxiety to civilise them, but with the primary concern to get the 'insiders' views of the community concerned, and help them in achieving their goals of development—slowly but smoothly.
- That, the implementing machinery should be prepared to face to certain extent the wastage of resources in terms of viability of a project. For example a school needs to be provided for only 15 Birhor children, or a social worker is to be appointed for the economic development of only 15 persons living in an isolated *tanda* as the situations they are tackling are of completely different nature.
- That it is also suggested that a functional and inter-disciplinary task force on the development of primitive tribes be constituted in each state with a power to formulate policy, prepare projects, train personnel and implement the schemes for the development of preliterate and pre-farming communities of the state. Again, on the regional basis, the Government of India should appoint its zonal committee to provide guidelines, coordinate the development programmes of such tribes cutting across the state boundaries and to integrate the resources of the states to ensure speedy formulation, implementation, training of the personnel and evaluation of the total achievement. □

Challenges in Hospital Administration

P.L. Trakroo

T.R. Anand

S.D. Kapoor

HOSPITALS owe their origin to the sufferings and ailments of people and to the compassion and zeal amongst some philanthropers, to relieve these sufferers from agony of suffering and discomfort. It is in this context that the term hospital apparently seems to have been derived from 'Hospitum' which was like a alms house or stopping place for strangers and travellers. Later on, this became a place to accommodate the homeless, poor and needy. Gradually, it became a place for segregation and care of the sick, poor and mostly those suffering from terminal or chronic illness. Sir Henry Burdett while describing the origin of hospitals stated that religious forces and institutions were the main force behind the development of hospitals rather than the development in the medical services. It is at times difficult and complex task to dissociate development of hospitals from religion as in some cases like early Roman or Greek civilisation, temples of Gods were utilised as hospitals. But in 400 BC Hypocrates made it possible to separate medicine from religion on rational grounds.

The spread of Christianity, however, gave tremendous impetus to the establishment of hospitals and made it subservient to the church as most of the physicians were taken from the priestly caste. In this way, the distinction provided by the Hypocrates earlier was almost discarded. The 'soul' was weighed more in comparison to the 'body'. During the Mohammedan period (700-800 AD), a number of hospitals came into existence in Baghdad and Cairo, where outpatient clinics and asylums for mentally sick were developed. But after 15th century Mohammedan medicine declined because of its non-progressive philosophy and superstitions. In 12th and 13th century a number of hospitals came into existence in Europe including many of which were looking after diseases like

leprosy. The separation of church from medical profession was introduced somewhere in 12th century when the physicians' position was not restricted to the clergy alone. As a matter of fact, from the time of 'reformation' till recently the administration of the hospital has gradually been taken over by medically trained personnel.

While the hospitals were growing, there was also an increasing realisation of the tremendous potentials of growth in the medical profession itself, which eventually increased the reliability of the diagnosis by introducing certain newer methods of detection of disease. The development in the field of surgery was phenomenal. But the development of hospitals in the 20th century has been almost explosive in USA, more so after the World War II when there was a phenomenal increase in the hospital beds and vast improvement in the quality of medical care due to advances in medical sciences.

HOSPITALS IN INDIA

Pre-independence Era

In developing countries, more particularly in India, in 6th century BC at the time of Buddha there were a number of hospitals to take care of the cripple and the poor. The most outstanding of the early hospitals in India were those built by Emperor Ashoka (273-232 BC). The Universities of Takshashilla and Nalanda and the famous physicians like Charaka, Sushrutta contributed much to the advances of Arabic medicines. Even during those days, the specifications for hospital building, labour rooms, children sections of the hospitals have been described. In addition, the qualifications for hospital attendants and nurses have also been described. The historical account of the ancient Indian medicine cannot authentically be described for want of inscriptions and manuscripts or other records as are available of other ancient systems of medicines such as of Egypt. From the account of European travellers, it can be stated that in 600 AD, the study of medicine in India was in its glory and its decline dates from the Mohammedan invasion in the 10th century A.D. The Mohammedans brought with them Hakims who followed Greek systems of medicine generally worded as 'Unani'. This also hampered the development of hospitals considerably during Mohammedan period but it gained impetus only in British period in the 16th century with the arrival of the European missionaries in south India. The East India Company established its first hospital in 1664 for its soldiers and another in 1684 for civilians at Madras. The European doctors for purpose of taking the assistance, trained some local inhabitants for duties like compounders and dressers and after gaining the experience they were termed as native doctors. During 17th, 18th and 19th century, modern medicine took firm roots in the Indian soil. Medical care based on this system spread all over the

country mainly by missionary work of certain missionaries. Organised medical training was introduced in 19th century and the first native medical school was started in Calcutta followed by Madras where both modern systems and Ayurveda systems were being taught to start with. It has also hospital assistants course for two years. Local governments were encouraged to start dispensaries at taluka and district levels which were taken by the States. Some of these hospitals were converted into teaching hospitals and attached to medical colleges.

Post-Independence Era

On the eve of independence, there were 7,400 hospitals and dispensaries in India. There were 1,13,000 beds giving bed population ratio of 0.2 per thousand population. There were 19 medical colleges and 19 medical schools in the country.

In 1943 the Health Survey and Development Committee popularly known as Bhore Committee reported that there were 7,441 hospitals and dispensaries in the country of which 7.6 per cent were maintained by private institutions. The total number of doctors registered in British India at that time was 47,524 giving a ratio of 1:6300 as against 1:1000 in UK and 1:750 in USA. This committee recommended long term planning for providing integrated curative and preventive health services by upgrading medical relief. They recommended a health centre at each periphery for a population of 40,000, a 30 bedded hospital for every PHC with a bed strength of 200, a supervisory, coordinating and referral centre. It was also recommended to have 500 bedded hospitals at district level. In the long term planning, this committee recommended a district health organisation of a district hospital with 2,500 beds, three to five beds each 15 to 25 primary health centres with a bed strength of 75 beds each.

However, not much could be achieved and the Government of India in 1959 set up another committee, the Health Survey and Planning Committee (Mudaliar Committee) to review the development that had taken place since the publication of the Bhore Committee Report. This committee stated that the hospitals and dispensaries have increased to 12,000 and the bed strength to 1,85,000 giving the bed population ratio to 1:4 per thousand. Nurses available rose from 7,000 to 30,000 and one-third of the total beds available were provided in 6.6 per cent of the hospitals having 200 beds or more. Out of 323 districts in India only 236 had hospitals with more than 150 beds. The Mudaliar Committee recommended a more realistic target. By 1970-71 the target to be achieved was 0.66 beds per 1,000 and by 1975-76 1 bed per 1000. They also recommended that the district hospitals be expanded and strengthened to 300-500 beds with specialist care facilities and mobile teams of specialists who could cover the districts. Regarding special hospitals they recommended increasing of paediatric beds by opening children's hospital, increasing the facility for maternity

and TB cases at all levels, opening of psychiatry clinics at district hospitals, etc. To implement these strategic decisions central working group of medical care was asked to draw up implementation plans for fourth and fifth five year plans. The position in 1966 was that there were 4,503 hospitals and 10,511 dispensaries with 2,76,226 beds. Each hospital on an average serves a population of 1,20,726 and the bed population ratio is 1:1713. The doctor population ratio is 1:4592 and nurse population ratio is 1:7147.

The Government of India in 1978 had constituted another Hospital Review Committee to look into and up-date the recommendations made by Jain Committee. This Committee suggested a plan of action for the development of hospital services. This report had taken into account the existing resources available and the demand for hospital services and suggested a plan of action for future development of hospitals.

This would mean that as an institution, hospital has established and has withstood the changes coming in socio-political affairs of the country from time to time. One of the fascinating aspects of these developments has been the apparent advances and developments in the professional fields specially in surgery and in the application of radiological and bio-medical techniques being utilised for the care of the patients.

This in brief, is the history of development of hospitals in India which started from the times of Buddha and acquired a special position among the various social institutions of the society. It can also be realised from this account that hospital is becoming gradually community oriented with potential of integrated wide range of comprehensive medical services, preventive care treatment; rehabilitation and after-care services.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHALLENGES

The historical developments depicted earlier would also make it clear that the institution of hospitals has undergone some structural changes like adding beds, buildings, new laboratory set-ups, specialised clinics and satellite programmes and so on. It is emerging as a complex institution engaged in patient care, education and training of medical, nursing and paramedical personnel and research in bio-medical sciences. Whatever be its major focus, the hospital has come to be a truly labour-intensive organisation humming with activities of patient care. It comprises of personnel of different consultants and specialists, nursing officers and a large number of para-professionals and house keeping and sanitary staff. It is this heterogenous group which when works in a team fashion is able to provide better patient care activities. The number of personnel working in a hospital is almost twice the number of authorised beds. The WHO

Expert Committee has very rightly defined the role of hospital as

An integral part of social, and medical organisations the functions of which are to provide the population, complete health care and to carry out training of health workers and bio-social research.

Keeping this background in view, the first challenge refers to hospital's ability to provide a very high degree of proficiency in providing patient care. This naturally may demand some functional and structural re-organisation of the hospitals. It may also necessitate bringing about certain attitudinal changes both in the givers as well as among the receivers of services.

The clientele of present day hospital is not static and fixed. It covers all stratas of society who are gradually becoming health conscious and more aware of their rights through the institution of education. As members of a given society, they demand more services, better in quality and prompt in delivery. In this case, the second challenge would naturally be to assess as to how far the existing services are being utilised to their optimal capacity by involving certain newer methodologies like PERT, operation research and modern management techniques in a hospital situation in order to meet ever changing and ever increasing demands of people. The application of these newer methodologies should be able to help the administrator of a given hospital to take decision more on empirical data rather than on intuitive judgments.

The third challenge lies in the fact that on the one hand the administrator has to deal with the drama of human emotions enacted every second of the day in the four walls of the hospitals where battle of life and death is fought by the staff, while on the other hand, devoid of all human touch and feelings the administration has to deal with the tussle of bureaucracy of various authorities. The situation is further compounded with the area of responsibility, of control and multifarious activities on the part of the administration which are assuming oceanic proportions. It needs to be tested as to how far the old dictum "centralised decisions and decentralised implementations" holds good in the present day situations.

The fourth challenge has emerged because of the fact that in addition to the classical functioning of care of the sick, certain additional functions are being added to it thereby broadening the scope of activities to preventive, promotive and rehabilitative services. To meet this challenge of care of community in contradiction to the cure of the sick, considerable changes are required to be brought in the hospital functioning. These changes would eventually have far reaching implications not only for making services available at the door-steps of the needy persons. As a matter of fact, hospitals have not now to restrict to the sick community but even provide services which are required for maintaining the health of the community.

One of the sensitive areas that is gaining ground refers to the

administration of hospitals. There is need to introduce medical audit which can prove to be an immense value provided the standards of performance are laid down on empirical and scientific basis and the flexible limits of departure from such levels well documented. This area opens up wide spheres of defining the standards of acceptable variations which still defy quantification. The definition and the quantification of professional outcome in terms of norms is to be standardised which could not only be supplied to the trustees of the hospitals but also to the people to whom the hospital is serving.

Another challenge refers to the organisation of hospital workers and related problems of dealing with different categories of staff. Gate meetings and protest marches are becoming frequent events in the life of the hospital management today. Thus, it becomes clear that hospital management has to organise on modern and progressive lines so as to take note of such developments and come up to the expectations of those for whom these institutions are created.

NEED FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATION

Hospital administration has reached a stage where formal education in hospital administration to manage the top level as well as middle level echelons of administration is inescapable. Professionalisation of the management has taken place in industry more than 50 years ago and today we find that industrial management, business management, hotel management and management of other such institutions is being done by a group of trained and experienced administrators. A hotel of 300-400 beds has 30-40 trained personnel in hotel management who work at different levels of administration. This is perhaps why a modern hotel runs the way it does. It is rather sad that in the situation of a hospital, even large hospitals with bed capacity of 1,000 we find complete absence of trained manpower in hospital management. Management of hospitals is normally forced down to the senior most specialist of the hospital, who has neither the competence and training nor the aptitude for such a work. He has, therefore, to depend on his subordinate staff for the multifarious problems that a complex institution like a hospital throws up. The management is thus relegated to senior clerical staff in the hospital which leads to more problems rather than the solution. In such a state of development and management of our hospitals, training of hospital administrators is the most crucial step that needs to be taken in our country.

During the last 15 years, efforts have been made to institute formal training for top level as well as middle level echelons of hospital administration. Training at university level leading to the award of Master's

Degree in Hospital Administration, in Health Care Administration and M.D. in Community Health Administration are some of the examples in this direction.

A number of universities and voluntary institutions have started diploma as well as certificate courses in hospital management. Many organisations are now engaged in conducting short-term courses in hospital administration.

There is, however, strong need for giving purposeful direction to the different universities and institutions which are dabbling in the area of training in this particular field. Such direction can only be given by bodies like the Medical Council of India or the Academy of Medical Sciences. There is need for the creation of a board for hospital management in this country at the governmental level which will provide direction as well as dictate the syllabus and the curriculum to be followed for various types of training for different levels of hospital administrators.

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Personnel System for Social Administration

S.P. Verma

GOVERNMENT is a pervasive fact of everyday life, and social administration is an especially pervasive part of the governmental system. The broad functions that a modern administration has to attend to requiring urgent attention would include survey of the contingent needs of the social services in the developmental context and the adequacy of the organisational and personnel machinery to meet demands of the ever-growing social administration. Today, administration is tending to become more and more specialised, technical and scientific; the *raison d'être* of administration is becoming its capability to respond to the social needs of the public. The current administrative situation can be summed up as: *First*, administration has ceased to be merely regulatory and is increasingly being involved in the formulation of policies and implementation of tasks concerned with social welfare and economic growth. *Second*, the regulatory administration is also existing but there is an increase in the volume of work and emergence of new social problems due to increasing industrialisation, growing social awareness and rising expectations. *Third*, science and technology have projected new tasks of administration. *Fourth*, the enormous growth in social services and delivery systems makes incumbent on the part of government to devise special measures for ensuring adequate and appropriate personnel system to meet the increasing demand in social administration.

The policies and management of social programmes call for arrangements for providing a sound organisational base and the efficient performance of key personnel in charge of these programmes. Social administration being an integral part of the total administrative system is faced with certain basic personnel problems which need to be carefully looked into.

In recent years the employees have become more vocal in their demands and the standards of discipline too have considerably deteriorated. The

growth of unhealthy trade unionism among the civil servants has made the functioning of the government unsatisfactory. For most of the time, there had been a hide bound, routine-ridden outlook and a sanctimonious adherence to precedents which dominate the administrative apparatus. Some of the problems of social administration can be traced to: First, inadequate appreciation of basic problems. Second, lack of forward planning resulting in corrective measures being taken after the problem has emerged. Third, lack of appropriate control and supervision from central points.

SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

Public administration was supposed to perform maintenance function but Saul M. Katz thinks:

No longer is it limited to maintenance of law and order, the provision of some limited public services and the collection of taxes; rather it is specifically involved to a great variety of development activities on a massive scale. Flowing from the greatly increased scope of activity are the widespread functional and structural differentiation of government and the consequent emergence of many interdependent, highly specialized activities which require a high degree of coordination.

A number of definitions are available about the meaning and content of development administration. To John D. Montgomery, it denotes carrying out planned change in the economy (in agriculture or industry, or the capital infrastructure supporting either of these) and, to a lesser extent, in the social services of the state (especially education and public health). In short, development administration is an action-oriented system with an effort to strengthen the administrative machinery which could bring about socio-political economic development. When a part of the development administration is devoted to improving and strengthening capabilities of those involved in developmental goals, it is administration for development. It is common knowledge that unless the administrative effectiveness of the government is increased, the objectives cannot be easily achieved. Fred W. Riggs resolves this controversy as, "the reciprocal relatedness of these two sides that involves a chicken and egg type of causation. Administration cannot normally be improved much without changes in the environmental constraints (the infrastructure) that hamper its effectiveness, and the environment itself cannot be changed unless the administration of developmental programmes is strengthened." Again, the ultimate problem may be, how to implement decisions that express discretionary social decisions, not only through programmes that effectively bring about

environmental transformations, but also by means of which minimise the costs involved.

ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Administration of social development is used in the sense of improving the entire administrative set-up for social development so that it has the capacity and the capability to perform new development functions. The administration should have the capacity to bear the stresses and strains which develop due to emerging social challenges. Administrative capability in the simplest language, is the capacity to get results through organisation. The capacity to do this depends to a large degree on administrative capability in single organisation, and in various other networks. Administration has to aim at results in the form of environmental and structural improvements which lead to improved performance by agencies involved in social services. The developing countries require criteria and assistance in evaluating their administrative capabilities and in selecting methods to improve them. For developing the criteria for appraising administrative capability UN Experts emphasize particular attention to: (a) feasibility of developing quantitative and qualitative indices to appraise administrative capability; (b) development of systems that can be used by member States to monitor the progress during the development efforts or achievements in different development programmes and activities; (c) development of realistic indicators to determine desirable levels of investment required to achieve the necessary level of administrative capability.

There are a number of problems which would create hurdles for smooth running of organisations responsible for administering social welfare programmes. Three problems have been identified which need special care.

1. Performance is primary. It may be necessary to know the kind, quantity and quality of services provided and to make cost-benefit analysis.
2. Structure consists of people and non-human resources as they are organised into various sub-systems with certain kinds of internal relations among them, and operating under the influence of various codes and some kind of central guidance machinery.
3. Environment conditions, legitimises and provides or denies resources to organisation and larger systems. Performance is vitally affected by relations with the environment and even definition of the environment. The new rapid and turbulent changes are posing a number of serious challenges.

One very important UN Document "Appraising Administrative

Capability for Development” mentions the following constraints which influence administrative capability:

- (a) Structural changes put into effect with little attention to their implications for performance;
- (b) Changes in methods that do not pay off in (or that may even impede) more or better output;
- (c) expansion or improvement of certain services with insufficient attention to costs or benefits;
- (d) changes proposed or effected without realistic appraisals of present strength and weakness; and
- (e) Too many evaluations which interfere with constructive work.

In the context of India's gigantic plans for socio-economic development, the need for planning, developing and harnessing its human resources for the achievement of the plan targets becomes all the more significant and crucial. A review of its manpower strategy since independence highlights certain bright features and yet glaring shortcomings are also discernible as evident from the paradoxical situation of under-employment and unemployment in an economy of development and growth. A significant aspect of India's manpower planning has been an over-emphasis on the long range (macro and global) planning, neglecting in the process, micro-planning at the department or service level. Greater attention needs to be paid to the potentialities of the large mass of already trained professional manpower.

Manpower planning for the public services has to be linked necessarily with educational planning and *vice-versa*. Manpower planning agencies do consult with appropriate educational institutions where competitive examinations are not a condition precedent to recruitment. But there is scope of greater coordination and consultation between the personnel planning authorities and the educational and training institutions.

Even in developed countries, it is difficult to predict the shape of economy 10-15 years in advance in view of the volatile social and economic forces and a dynamic labour market. It is more so in a developing country like India with its social tensions, constraint of resources and unstable economic conditions. Manpower planning under these conditions has been a hazardous, nevertheless challenging exercise. Other areas which need further attention and action to develop appropriate personnel for social administration are: job evaluation and position classification system; motivation, training and career system planning.

Administrative capability is not related to personnel administration alone. There must be organisational effectiveness, financial outlays, introduction of latest management techniques and streamlining of procedures. Age old hierarchical principles and obsolete file work has to be

replaced by an action-oriented system. New type of coordination has to be assured and communication system improved. Whereas it is easy to bring about all these changes, a right type of political will is necessary.

At present it seems that in matters of recruitment, promotion, discipline, manpower planning, etc., there is no single coordinating agency capable of taking a total view of personnel problems and perspectives in social administration. The time has come when some of the basic assumptions and beliefs, on which the personnel systems and policies are to be based should be given a fresh look. For instance, some of the personnel functions such as recruitment and wage determination in many countries are entrusted to agencies on the basis of the professional expertise. Development, even more than maintenance of continuity and order, has become the business of the administrative apparatus. Today, the social administrator has to acquire a greater appreciation and understanding of economic, technological, and social forces. An ideal nodal agency poised for a real breakthrough in positive and constructive personnel management can play such a role. Within the overall framework of reforms suggested by the nodal agency the operating departments or the ministries dealing with social development programmes can continue to work in their own sphere. The success of the nodal agency, in the ultimate run would depend on the nature and extent of the counterpart reform, *i.e.*, establishing expertly staffed and professionalised personnel offices in the various ministries. The success in administration ultimately hinges on the attitudes of the people, both within and outside the service. Government must be mindful of the views held by different sections of the public and the nodal agency will have to play a positive role to project a favourable image of the government social welfare programmes. A progressive personnel agency will always be sensitive to public response. Public relations should not solely be regarded as the responsibility of a public relations man. The employees who come into daily contact with the people are in a way the 'public relations ambassadors' of the agency. The nodal agency must, therefore, ascertain the attitudes and viewpoints of the people from time to time, disseminate information about the social services and arrange training programmes with a public relations orientation. It is not difficult to carve out a new department or agency but staffing it creates a major problem. The personal capabilities of the staff have to match the organisational goals otherwise there is the risk of degeneration. When the new agency is created, it should avoid getting entangled in the deep-rooted prejudices and routine and time-consuming procedures which these units are likely to bring along with them. The setting up of such an agency should be preceded by a very careful design of its structure and defining the precise skills required at various levels. The structure that it inherits should be carefully pruned and there should be no hurry in expanding the activities or functions. The new responsibilities should grow slowly after due

experimentation.

Thus, the main focus of personnel development in social administration is to develop the system as a whole so that the administration is capable of performing all the social welfare programmes in an efficient and effective manner. It is specially important in developing countries because without proper type of personnel system, it is not possible to achieve socio-economic objectives. □

Training of Social Welfare Personnel

R.K. Tiwari

SINCE independence and more with the advent of planning in 1951, the social welfare programmes have grown both in scope and content. The First Five Year Plan provided a sum of Rs. 4 crores for social welfare activities. In 1953 the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was set up to provide grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations. CSWB also established welfare extension projects in rural areas for women and children on a limited scale. In the second plan, the activities of the CSWB were expanded to include programmes like welfare extension projects in (urban), condensed courses of education for adult women, social defence programmes to prevent juvenile delinquency, beggary and immoral traffic in women, (introduced as centrally sponsored programmes). In the third and fourth plans specific programmes such as integrated demonstration, child welfare projects, family and child welfare projects were undertaken. In the fifth plan child welfare was accorded the highest priority and the CSWB disbursed grants to voluntary organisations amounting to Rs. 303 lakhs. In the welfare programmes for women priority was given to socially and physically handicapped women. In the State sector, high priority was accorded to family and child welfare services and welfare of the poor and destitutes.¹

In the draft sixth plan both strategy and programme contents have undergone significant change. To quote the Plan document.

Welfare Services have so far been mostly institution based and concentrate in urban and metropolitan areas. These are largely being provided to the handicapped, aged, sick and infirm destitute women and abandoned children. With the changing social trend, these *ad hoc*

¹*Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83, Vol. III, Planning Commission, Government of India, pp. 291-92.*

services will have to be replaced by a well planned programme of education, training and rehabilitation. Schemes for the welfare and development of children and women would have to be accorded higher priority with increased bias towards preventive and developmental services. Various other schemes like distribution of cooperative credit for weaker sections, health programmes, functional literacy and nutrition schemes would have to be dovetailed so as to promote family welfare and improve economic capacity.²

The Plan document further highlighted the importance of voluntary organisations in the implementation of welfare programmes and services. Since it may not be possible for government to undertake sizable schemes in this field due to competing priorities, greater relevance has to be placed on the initiative and capabilities of voluntary organisations. These organisations would be offered adequate financial support to expand their activities. However, their personnel needs orientation training so that the standard of services rendered by them could be improved.³

The purpose of this paper is to describe the training facilities available to the various categories of social welfare personnel.

Training of social welfare personnel both in the government and voluntary organisations have become very important in view of the expanding social welfare programmes. This work is done by the academic institutions, special training centres established by the government or the CSWB. The qualified and trained social welfare personnel perform functions in various fields of social work. In India, the prominent social welfare fields are as under:

—Women Welfare

- welfare of women belonging to lower social economic groups, working women and those in need of care and protection.
- establishment of day care centres, creches and balwadis for the children of working mothers both in rural and urban areas.
- training programmes for ANMS, balsevikas, anganwadi workers and secretarial services.

—Welfare of the Handicapped

- Scheme for the education, training and employment of the handicapped.
- Social Defence
- Programmes for the reformation and rehabilitation of social deviants

²*Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83, op. cit., p. 292.*

³*Ibid., p. 293.*

- Educational Programmes for Prohibition
 - sustained educational programmes through mass media to mould public opinion in favour of prohibition.
- Child Welfare Programmes
 - institutional services for children in need of care and protection
 - foster care and other non-institutional services to provide congenial atmosphere for the growth of children.
- Integrated Child Development Services
 - providing immunisation, health check up, referral services, nutrition and health, education supplementary nutrition and non-formal education for pre-school children.

Successful implementation of social welfare functions both in the governmental sector and voluntary organisations depends on the training of the personnel. The training of personnel of social welfare services require urgency due to the revised strategies regarding expansion of welfare services.

A number of training institutions have been set up in the last two decades in various fields of social welfare administration. These institutions cater for variety of personnel belonging to different areas of social welfare. Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare, Backward Classes in 1959 categorised the jobs of social welfare personnel in the following groups:

- (a) Administrative and Senior Supervisory Category, at the headquarters for supervisory duties, research and planning, *e.g.*, directors, research officers; in training institutions, *e.g.*, instructors, field work supervisors; in large institutions, *e.g.*, superintendents, medical and psychiatric social workers, probation officers.
- (b) Intermediate Supervisory Category, in urban areas, in medium and small-sized institutions, *e.g.*, superintendent, community organisers; and in rural areas for the direction and supervision of field staff in project centres *e.g.*, social education organisers, chief welfare organisers (*mukhya sevikas*).
- (c) Field Level Workers, in rural areas, *e.g.*, gram sevikas; in urban areas, *e.g.*, welfare workers, recreation leaders and assistants in welfare institutions.

Broadly, the training of social welfare personnel as provided by various training institutions can be classified on the basis of training in various specialised fields. Except training given at the Indian Institute of Public Administration and National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development other institutions engaged in the training of social welfare personnel are specialised institutions catering for training requirements in

specialised areas.—1. Training in Social Defence; 2. Family and Child Welfare Training; 3. Balsevika Training, and 4. Tribal Research and Training.

GENERAL COURSES

As mentioned earlier, Indian Institute of Public Administration from 1967 to 1977 in its Executive Development Programme sponsored by the Government of India, Training Division, Department of Personnel used to organise a course on Social Policy and Administration. Briefly the aims and objectives of the course were “to acquaint the participants with the problem of formulation of policy and its implementation in the social sector:

1. To examine the inter-relationship between economic and social development; and
2. to identify the contribution of social services and social welfare programmes to human resource development.⁴

Broad areas covered in the Social Policy Administration course were as follows:

1. Social and economic factors in development
2. Policy and problems of inducing social change
3. Social policy and social Legislation
4. Backward classes; policy programmes and administration, and
5. Role of social welfare services in bringing about national development at a faster pace.

This course was meant for senior level personnel both from Central and State Governments dealing with social welfare functions. The duration of the course was two weeks. Institute organised about 10 courses in this area. The course was closed in the year 1977 due to non-availability of the participants.

Another institution dealing in General Development Courses for the social welfare personnel is National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi which was established in 1966 primarily to conduct training, research, seminars, workshop, group discussion in the field of voluntary action for social development. In the field of training the Institute organised two category of courses—orientation programmes, job training programmes for a variety of functionaries both in the governmental as well as in the voluntary sectors. These courses were conducted

⁴*Sixth Course on Social Policy and Administration*, January, 10-22, 1977., Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, p. 1.

mostly in collaboration with national level voluntary organisations, School of Social Works and State Governments. The personnel attending these courses are voluntary social workers associated with child welfare, social welfare officials; and voluntary organisational personnel, superintendents of residential welfare institutions, chief executives of voluntary organisations, middle level government personnel and voluntary leaders. Broadly the Institute organised training courses both at the headquarters at New Delhi and its regional field unit at Gauhati. The duration of the courses were two weeks. The orientation courses are broadly meant for the following functionaries:

- (a) Middle level social welfare functionaries of voluntary organisations;
- (b) District social welfare and harijan welfare officers;
- (c) Superintendents of residential institutions;
- (d) Members of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards.

Job training courses are organised for Child Development Project Officers and Chief Lady Supervisors of Integrated Child Development Service Scheme. These courses are of larger duration (8 weeks to 12 weeks), upto 1978 the Institute had organised 178 courses at the headquarters and 8 at the regional field unit Gauhati both under orientation and job training programmes.⁵

SPECIAL COURSES

Course for Official and Non-Official Workers of Women and Child Welfare Organisations

Objectives: The course seeks to open interactional dialogue among functionaries of welfare organisations, governmental as well as voluntary, to acquaint them with the latest approaches and developments in social welfare policy, planning and administration. It highlights the problems in the field of social welfare, with special reference to programmes for women and children, and explores ways and means of dealing with them.

Contents: The course broadly covers areas like: (a) social change and social development, (b) modern concept of social welfare, (c) social welfare policy, (d) planning and administration; (e) role of voluntary organisations vis-a-vis the State, (f) social welfare programmes for women and children, (g) methods of working with people, (h) resource mobilisation, and (i) coordination in social welfare, etc.

⁵ *An Introduction*, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 8-9.

Course for District Level Officers and Representatives of Voluntary Organisations Dealing with Harijan Welfare

The main objectives of the course are: (a) to acquaint the district welfare officers with the latest approaches in social welfare including the welfare of backward classes; (b) to review the progress made in improving educational and socio-economic status of scheduled castes; and (c) to identify problems made in implementing welfare programmes at the district level and to suggest measures to deal with them.

Course Content: The course syllabus includes theoretical as well as practical dimensions of the theme and covers the following areas: (a) Social change and social development; (b) changing concepts of and approaches to social welfare; (c) harijan welfare—a historical perspective; (d) socio-economic problems of scheduled castes; (e) constitutional safeguards; (f) approaches to harijan welfare; (g) organisation for harijan welfare administration at the centre and in states; (h) mobilising people's support and cooperation for harijan welfare; (i) management of financial resources; (j) application of management concepts in welfare administration; (k) intersectoral coordination; (l) supervision and staff development; and (m) monitoring and evaluation of welfare programmes.

Course for Members of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards

Objectives: The course orients the members in social welfare theory and practice to enhance their supervisory skills and capacities. Their roles, functions and operational problems are reviewed. It also examine ways and means of promoting community participation in the implementation of programmes.

Course Contents: (a) changing concept of social welfare; (b) social welfare policy and programmes in five-years plans, (c) role of central social welfare board and state social welfare advisory boards; (d) social problems with special reference to women and children; (e) legislation relating to women and children; (f) co-ordination in social welfare; (g) techniques of supervision and field counselling; mobilising community resources.

TRAINING IN SOCIAL DEFENCE

A large number of specialised institutions have been set up to give training to social defence personnel both at the Centre and in the States. There are two institution in Delhi, namely, the National Institute of Social Defence, the Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science. There are 4 institutions mostly dealing with jail training in the States of Haryana, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. At the National Institute of Social Defence, New Delhi training courses are offered in: (a) prison administration; (b) social defence legislation; (c) promotion and allied

measures in suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls; (d) role of judiciary in social defence; and (e) participation of voluntary agencies/organisations in social defence activities.

Participants include both from governmental sector (judiciary and correctional services) and voluntary organisations. The courses are usually of two weeks. These courses are sponsored by the Institute and conducted in different places in the country by University Departments/Institutes having the necessary expertise in social defence.⁶

Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, New Delhi is engaged in training for officers belonging to different fields of criminology and forensic sciences, for police, judiciary and correctional administration. The duration of the course is three weeks. About 16 types of courses are conducted annually by the Institute.

A number of schools are established in Haryana, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. By and large these schools give training both to the new recruits of the Jail Department and also in service training to the personnel of the prison department. Jail training school at Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh) offers: Diploma in Prison Management and Correctional work, Certificate in Prison Management and Correctional work, and Junior certificate in Prison Management and Correctional work for officers from Uttar Pradesh Government and other State Governments. These courses are for officers of Prison Department and those concerned with correctional services.

TRAINING IN FAMILY AND CHILD WELFARE

In the Third Plan the CSWB started a scheme of Family and Child Welfare Projects. To meet the training needs of personnel in these projects, the CSWB established six Family and Child Welfare Training Centres to give orientation courses and job training courses for mukhyasevikas, balsevikas and grahsevikas. These centres were established in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and New Delhi. The main area of the study in the training courses cover: (a) Social Welfare; (b) Health Education; (c) Pre-School Education; (d) Nutrition; and (e) Arts and Crafts.

Apart from lectures, field work is an important part of the training. The duration of the orientation courses is 3 months and that of the job training course is 10 months.

The Balsevika Training Programme was started in Third Plan to develop a cadre of child welfare workers equipped to implement programmes

⁶*Handbook on Social Work Training Facilities in India*, Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Department of Social Welfare, New Delhi, 1979,

adopting an integrated approach to child development. These centres are established through Grants given by the Union Department of Social Welfare to the Indian Council of Child Welfare, New Delhi for running the training centres with the help of its branches in different States. At present there are 27 centres.

The duration of the courses is 11 months. These centres also run *ad hoc* courses of 4 months duration in the form of in-service training of anganwadi workers in the integrated child development services projects.

TRIBAL TRAINING

The Tribal training institutions were established in states having concentration of sizable tribal population. One of the main objectives is to provide orientation training to field staff on tribal matters. Most of these institutions were started in Third Plan under Centrally sponsored scheme of the Government of India. There are 11 institutions located in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. These institutes organise in-service short training courses for field level workers. By and large courses are organised for: (a) tribal development district officers; (b) project officers; (c) block development officers and extension officers; and (d) tribal village leaders.

Training programmes for tribal village leaders, give orientation training in tribal life and culture. The mode of instruction is both lectures and field works.

It is evident, that a large number of training programmes by specialised training institutions exist for the front line and middle level social welfare personnel both in the governmental and voluntary sectors. There is need for training for senior personnel in the social welfare field. For them there is hardly any training facility at present. In conclusion it may be stated that social welfare personnel require a wide range of skills at different levels of responsibility front-line, intermediate and senior level. The functions of personnel in each level should be sufficiently differentiated to merit special considerations in the selection of the content and design of training for each level.*



*Training in Health Planning**

J.P. Gupta

THE shattered economies of various countries as a result of direct and indirect effects of World War II and their liberation from colonial rule were the compelling forces which led the developing countries of Asia, Africa and other regions in early fifties to increasing realisation that only systematic and planned efforts could improve the health status of populations particularly those in rural and remote areas. It is against this background that increasing number of countries, gradually and over a period of time started formulating their socio-economic development plans. The catalytic role played in this effort, by the international agencies which were set up as post-World War II reconstruction measures, deserve a special mention. The field of health was no exception to the general developments in other sectors of economy. This of courses does not mean that efforts had not been initiated at any place earlier than the close of World War II. Bombay Plan of 1944, prepared by industrialists to tackle health problems of growing economy of Bombay - the industrial citadel of India is an indicator to this fact. Further, with the exception of India, broadly speaking fifties constitute the latent period of initiation of health planning activities in developing countries.

The year 1965 signifies an important landmark in the history of development of national health planning as it was in this year that health planning formed the subject for technical discussions at the 18th World Health Assembly. Recognising the importance of the subject and also realising that time was ripe for providing a fillip to such activities in developing countries in different regions, a clarion call was given by World Health Organisation (WHO) exhorting the nations to initiate the process of development of health plans as integral part of socio-economic development plan. Development of PAHO/CENDES methodology under 'Alliance for

*Paper prepared for Course in Health Planning held at Shillong (India) from October 22 to November 21, 1979 under the auspices of WHO Project SE ICP PPS 002.

Progress Programme' and Regional Seminar on National Health Planning at Addis Ababa in 1965 were some of the efforts directed to focus attention on the subject of National Health Planning.

As a result, the normal sequence of activities, namely, increase of health planning activities leading to the increased need for trained manpower, which in turn leads to increase of training activities and their organisation at inter-regional, regional and country level, started operating in various regions of the globe. The first activity in this sequence, which was initiated by World Health Organisation was training course for WHO staff members at the University of West Indies in 1967. This was followed by training activities in other regions. Insofar as the South-East Asia region is concerned, the initiative was taken by WHO/SEARO in locating a project in the Asian and Pacific Development Institute (UN-APDI), Bangkok, (earlier AIED&P and ADI) with the specific purpose of organising regional courses in National health planning. Three such courses in collaboration with the erstwhile National Institution of Health Administration and Education (NIHAE) were organised by UNAPDI from 1969-72. The regional courses in Bangkok were organised by a multidisciplinary team and were of the duration of 3 months.

The regional courses were to be gradually followed by the national courses. The unfortunately did not happen anywhere else except India where the annual country courses in Health Planning were initiated in July 1972 (the 3rd regional course having finished in April 1972 only). However, very soon, a WHO/UNDP Inter-country project "Strengthening of Health Services through Training in Planning", SE ICP PPS 002 (earlier SE ICP SHS 012) was launched in mid-1975. Under this project a two member team consisting of a public health administrator and a management expert was required to conduct country courses in Health Planning suited to the needs of particular countries, in collaboration with existing national institutions, if there were any.

Though the specific objectives of these two projects might have been different, the broad aims appeared to be to develop national capabilities in undertaking the task of developing comprehensive health plans and training in health planning. Comprehensive evaluation indicating the extent to which these broad aims were achieved is not available. However, the impressions are that they did contribute to some extent towards development of national capabilities both in developing comprehensive health plans as well as training in health planning. At the same time it is amply evident that a comprehensive outlook particularly in relation to training in health planning is conspicuous by its absence as is indicated by sporadic and spasmodic activities undertaken by WHO/SEARO from time to time.

Presented in succeeding paras are some of the elements of a system of training in health planning which represent the inner core of various

systems as is indicated in the diagram given below:

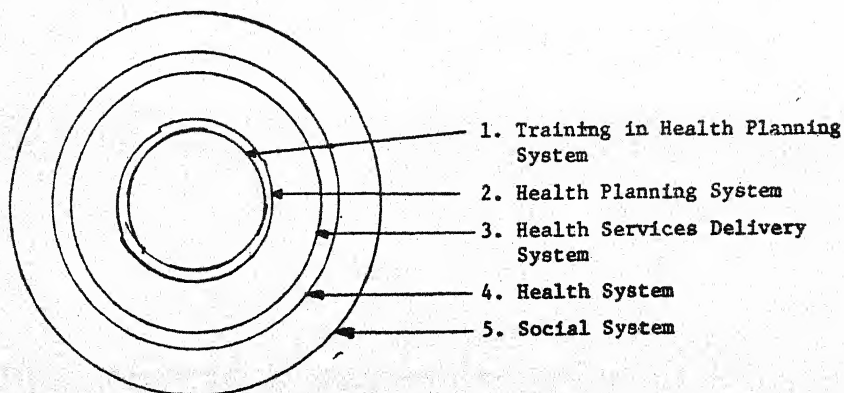


DIAGRAM 1

These elements need to be given a thorough consideration whenever any effort at initiating training activities in this field is being undertaken. To what extent, these were considered in organisation of regional and country courses can be visualised from the description in succeeding pages.

The systems concept, *i.e.*, training in health planning as a part of various systems as depicted in the Diagram 1 indicates that a number of considerations influence the type and nature of training courses in health planning whenever and wherever they are to be organised.

The first and foremost of these considerations is administrative and political structure of the country. Planning being defined as guided action for a social change, is determined, therefore, considerably by what the administrative and political structure of a country is at a given point of time and in which direction it is attempted to bring about changes. Contrasting elements such as democratic set-up versus dictatorship, centralised versus decentralised administrative and political set-up with the added dimensions of existing planning approaches, *i.e.*, bottom up or top down approaches will considerably influence the details of a training programme in health planning.

The next in importance is the stage of development of planning processes in a given situation. Countries are in different stages of development of planning process ranging from the initial stage of project by project planning to an intermediary stage of public investment planning and the ultimate stage of comprehensive development planning.

Thirdly, the stage of development of health services administration in a country, *i.e.*, whether the country is having a compartmentalised health services administration in terms of medical and public health or curative versus preventive and promotive and the degree of their integration at

various levels of administrative set-up is an important factor which determines the nature and direction of change called for and to be attempted through health planning activities.

The understanding of relationship between the functions of planning, implementation and evaluation in their being viewed as separate and exclusive functions on the one hand, or their integrated nature without clear cut and precise artificial boundaries on the other hand and the development of right kind of perspective and conceptual framework makes all the difference in training activities.

Understanding that all the functionaries from head of technical services to a lower most functionary in the administrative set-up of health services administration in the country perform a combination of varying degree of different roles and functions related to planning, implementation and evaluation is an important consideration which needs to be kept in mind while developing training activities in the field of health planning. Implicit in such a framework is the dynamic nature and inter-changeability of positions of planners, implementors and evaluators.

Finally, the most crucial consideration influencing the nature and type of training is the understanding of the existing and desired roles and functions of planners, such as diagnostic, predictive, supportive, negotiatory and advisory.

The first and foremost task in developing training activities is the identification of training needs which more often than not, is not given the adequate emphasis it deserves. The examples of training activities in health planning undertaken in the past or being undertaken at various levels, *i.e.*, country, regional and inter-regional levels, by national and international agencies without ascertaining the training needs are not difficult to get. The impression on the contrary is that these have generally been taken into account.

The task consists of identification of individuals who need training and the training needs of such individuals. Further, planning being an activity with futuristic implications and outlook, it is not enough to know what roles and functions and activities are being performed by individuals or target population at present but also by what is intended to be performed by them in near or distant future.

The dimensions on which information in relation to each functionary related to present as well as near or distant future needs to be elicited are: (a) Roles: planner; implementor, evaluator; and (b) Functions: (i) diagnostic to assess the existing situation; (ii) predictive—to project the present situation; (iii) programme/project formulation—application of tools and techniques developed for directly productive sectors, with suitable modifications, (iv) integration and coordination—of other programmes/projects especially those in other sectors of economy; (v) negotiative—obtaining technical and political approval of formulated plans/programmes/projects;

(vi) supportive and advisory—in relation to health aspects of programmes/projects in related sectors; (vii) control—ensuring control of various activities through monitoring of programmes/projects; and (viii) evaluation—developing evaluatory studies in relation to programmes/projects.

The information thus elicited in respect of each individual in the health services administration set-up, needs to be put in the form of matrix given below:

Role	Planner						Implementor	Evaluator
Function	Programmes/Projects in Health Sector					Health Aspects of Non-health projects	Control	Evaluation
	Diagnostic	Predictive	Project/Programme Formulation	Integration & Coordination of Programmes/Projects	Negotiative	Supportive and Advisory		
Category of Functions								

Director
Health
Services

Multipurpose/
Unipurpose
Worker

Such a matrix needs to be prepared not only for technical wing of health services administration but for secretarial wing also. This is because the functionaries in the secretarial wing at a number of levels are deeply involved in the entire decision making process, including those related to planning functions. The systems approach indicating the importance of intersectoral linkages and articulations makes it obligatory that such a matrix needs to be developed in relation to functionaries at least at some

levels of administrative set-up, in the other and related sectors of economy also, with priority in respect of those in the field of education and social welfare.

Having identified the target population, their roles and functions, the next step is the identification of the activities or tasks being performed or are likely to be performed in near or distant future by each functionary. In addition a baseline assessment of potential trainees, to determine the existing level of knowledge, skills and attitudes related to roles functions, activities or tasks of a health planner is get a complete picture of the training needs as well as precise definition of desired level of knowledge, skills and attitudes. Such a process undertaken by trainers in consultation with the consumers, *i.e.*, health administrators and in the light of the various considerations influencing in health planning described on pages 3 and 4 will lead to identification of training needs in a given situation and *inter alia* definition of educational/training or behavioural objectives of a training programme. A number of methods for identification of training needs are—Questionnaire; Interview; Observation; Informal talks; Tests—written or oral; Check list; Card sorting; Buzzing; Committee; Conference; Consultants' opinions; Task Force; In-basket exercises; Workshop; Role Play; Simulation; and Research Studies.

Identification of training needs in relation to existing and desired level of knowledge, skills and attitudes as described, is a basic input required for definition of objectives of training programmes. In the absence of these, the training programmes have been designed on the basis of subjective judgments and those too of trainers. The situation non-existence of dialogue between trainers and consumers, *i.e.*, health services administrators, to impart little more rationality to these subjective judgments, is something which can be easily rectified and will be of immense use till such time that objectively assessed training needs of health planners are available for the purpose of being fed as an input for definition of objectives of training programmes.

Since the ultimate aim of any training programme is bringing about change in learner's behaviour, the definition of objectives of a training programme in behavioural terms, in addition to educational/training objectives is a necessity. That such objectives whether educational/training or behavioural should be relevant to the areas of knowledge, skills and attitudes is a known fact. Review of objectives of various training programmes in health planning, country or regional, indicate that ample scope for formulation of clear cut, precise and measureable educational/training and behavioural objectives exists. A sample of aims, training and behavioural objectives of a training programme in health planning is given below:

Aims: To produce competent and effective health planners and to improve the quantity and quality of manpower in health planning, by exposing the participants to principles, practices, techniques and methodologies

of health planning through systems approach in order to contribute to the development of the health situation in the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

Training Objectives: (a) To impart knowledge in the concepts, principles and techniques of socio-economic development and health planning, to equip the participants to undertake or to gear up the health planning activities in their countries; (b) To develop skills on selected techniques and methodologies of health planning so that the participants are able to develop health plans in their countries; (c) To develop attitudes amongst the participants to realise the potentialities and limitations of the health planning process as a contributing factor to the raising of the health status of the population.

Behavioural Objectives: To prepare the participants so that at the end of the course they will: (a) have a sound knowledge in the principles, concepts, techniques and methodologies of health planning in the context of overall socio-economic development planning; (b) be competent in undertaking health planning activities in their countries considering its situation needs and resource limitations; (c) be willing to cooperate as well as co-ordinate and also to develop good inter-personnel relationships with planners and decision-makers in both the health and other related sectors; and (d) be willing to be an innovator; change agent and take leadership in health planning.

The relationship between training needs, objectives and course contents can be depicted diagrammatically as:

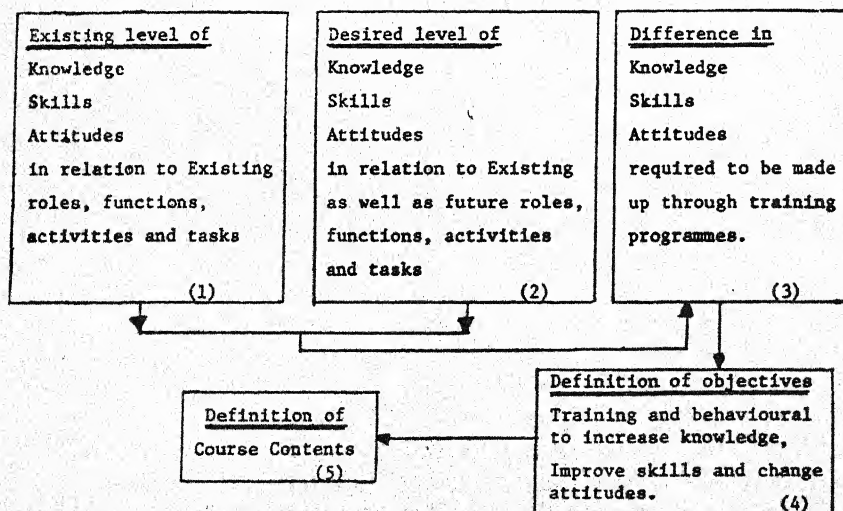


DIAGRAM 2

Identification of training needs, definition of objectives in educational/training and behavioural terms and their translation into course contents in any situation can be considered from various angles. For instance, the course may be designed to take care of the deficiencies in knowledge, skills and attitudes so as to meet the training needs of existing personnel undertaking a planning activity in a country. On the other hand, it may be so designed that it can develop capabilities to meet the needs to a large extent in any situation, *i.e.*, in the form of a broad based programme which in other words means an educational programme. Such educational programmes, have to be developed as part and parcel of under-graduate as well as post-graduate programmes in public health. Of course short-term orientation programmes depending upon situation to situation can be added to the original broad based programmes, the concept of 'brick by brick' building.

Before we go into the question of what type of educational or training programmes in this field are available at the country, regional or inter-regional levels, it would be desirable to go little deeply into the course contents. In fact, the course contents can be looked at in terms of modules. Thus one can identify three sets of modules: (a) planning module; (b) implementation planning module; and (c) evaluation module. Health planners and administrator as well as trainers in this field have different points of view regarding the modicum of implementation which should be included in the training programme in health planning. In author's opinion linkage between planning, implementation and evaluation should be included and dealt with in brief or superficially but implementation planning should be included in details.

The components of planning module in training course in hierarchical order could be: (a) inter-sectoral planning; (b) sectoral planning; (c) programme planning; and (d) project planning.

The same with regard to the training needs of higher, lower and middle level of personnel in hierarchy of administrative set-up insofar as those whose major role is a planner's role, could be depicted diagrammatically as:

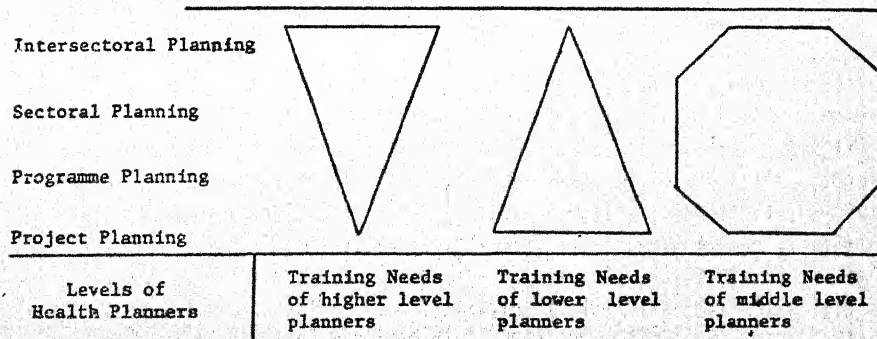


DIAGRAM 3

Perhaps implementation as well as evaluation module can also be broken up into similar levels and represented diagrammatically in similar manner.

Such modules need to be prepared in details for educational programmes (undergraduate and post-graduate courses in Public Health) and orientation training programmes. However, such detailed work with regard to development of course contents in the form of modules does not seem to have been undertaken anywhere, either in Master's Programmes of the duration of 9 months or 3 months courses of the type conducted by UN APDI Bangkok or one month courses of the type conducted by erstwhile NIHAE or 1-2 weeks courses conducted under WHO/UNDP Project SE ICP PPS 002 (earlier SE ICP SHS 012).

Such an approach for development of course contents based on modules demands that the participants should be homogeneous in the sense that their planning roles, functions and activities should be similar. This is easy if the courses are to be organised on country basis. Further, though the advantage of team training, *i.e.*, having same training for different levels of planners, in providing a good exchange of experience and views is not there but then in author's opinion, the former approach is preferable though only experimentation can prove the utility of one or the other approach.

As in any other training programme, a number of training methods can be utilised. Each of the method has its own potentiality in respect of various dimensions of training process, as is illustrated in Annexure 1. However, two of the methods which need detailed consideration in the context of training programme in health planning and about which differences of opinion exist amongst trainers, are the field work/visits and practical exercises in planning. The difference of opinion exists because these two methods are generally utilised independent of each other. Usually the objectives of the field work/visits at least on paper are shown to be to make the participants of the course, conversant with processes and problems of planning and implementation in the field, though the hidden objective is to provide opportunity to the participants for little relaxation from the boredom of attending lectures in the class room. On the other hand the exercise in planning is generally given at the end of the course and is based upon data of a hypothetical geographical unit which of course in most of the cases is incomplete. The incompleteness of data particularly in courses for a heterogeneous group, *i.e.*, those belonging to different countries or regions often poses the problem of incredibility in the minds of the participants who often would tell that the real life situation is not reflected in the data or who become jittery on account of non-completeness of data. Such problems will be minimal if the participants belong to the same geographical unit and are homogeneous.

The most desirable way perhaps is to utilise both these methods in an

integrated manner which translated into practical terms means: (a) Preparation of data of a geographic unit of a planning, the identity of which may be masked for various reasons; (b) giving only a part of the prepared data to the participants so that they are able to find the gaps and ask for what is available with trainer; and (c) whatever incompleteness still remains; i.e., the areas on which information is lacking, it can be taken care of in field work, where the participants utilising various methods of collection of data collect the data themselves.

Under such circumstances the best course is: (a) to have the data made available to the participants right in the beginning of the course; (b) telling them about the practical assignments they have to work on; (c) incorporating this data as illustrations to supplement the entire teaching for various lectures discussion sessions; (d) splitting the practical exercise into components related to various steps in the planning process and giving these exercises after a particular step in the planning process has been explained or dealt with in the course; (e) at a certain point or period during the course, taking the participants for field work to the same geographical unit on which data has been developed so that they complete the gaps in data. Such a process is not undertaken usually on account of various reasons one of which may be that it will involve tremendous amount of efforts in terms of manpower and financial resources.

No hard and fast line can be drawn regarding duration of courses. Apart from the clientele for which training programme is designed and whether it is an educational or a training programme, the crucial factor which determines the duration is the mix of training methods which are utilised. As already indicated on preceding pages the courses of different durations have been and are being organised. But certainly, organisation of courses of 1-2 weeks duration in health planning for middle or slightly senior level planners as has been done in some situations, amounts to doing injustice to the rapidly developing speciality of health planning.

In the SEARO Region, courses of 3 months duration have been organised by UN APDI Bangkok on *ad hoc* basis without ensuring continuity and various international agencies must share the blame for not having given proper thought and developing a long range plan in the area of training in health planning.

The idea of developing national capabilities in training in planning has also not succeeded much except in one or two places. Enough ground work has not been done to find out the extent to which the existing training institution need the support from international agencies to further build up the training capabilities especially in the area of developing multi-disciplinary training nuclei. It is also not understandable as to why no efforts were made by International agencies particularly WHO to develop collaborative mechanisms between various training institutions. Considering the overall purposes and to the extent that the author knows and for

various reasons, the achievements of WHO intercountry project SE ICP PPS 002 (earlier SE ICP SHS 012) which could have undertaken this task have not been consistent with the expectations. Competition between various international agencies themselves within a region and leading to duplication of efforts without any coordination between them is another area which needs investigation with the ultimate aim of developing long range plans of training programme in health planning within the region.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that lack of coordinated efforts to develop training programme in health planning within the SEARO Region, either regionally or at country level, from long range point of view, sporadic nature of efforts undertaken so far, non-exploitation of potentials of national level institutions coupled with the apathy of consumers, *i.e.*, health administrators to understand the utility of such training programmes are some of the areas which need to be looked at deeply and corrective measures taken accordingly.

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Annexure I
COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF VARIOUS TRAINING METHODS

Serial Number	Training Method	Potentiality for			Relationship with Learning Process			Other Dimensions									
		Increase in Knowledge	Improvement of skills	Change in Attitudes	Motivation	Active Involvement	Individual Approach	Sequencing and Structuring	Feedback	Relevance to work situation	Preparatory Effort	Requirements of Time in the Programme	Requirements of Physical facilities	Requirements of A.V. equipment	Involvement of other organizations	Cost per Student	Pattern of Communication
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1.	Lecture	H	L	L	M	L	L	H	L	L	L	L	L	M	L	L	1
2.	Correspondence Study	H	L	L	L	M	M	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	M	1
3.	Group Discussion	L	M	H	M	M	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	M	2
4.	Case Study	L	M	H	L	M	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	M	2
5.	Syndicate	L	M	H	L	M	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	M	2
6.	Role Play	L	M	H	L	M	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	M	2
7.	Management Games	L	M	H	L	M	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	M	2
8.	H.R.T. Laboratory	L	M	H	L	M	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	M	2
9.	Panel	M	L	M	M	M	L	M	L	L	M	M	M	L	M	L	1
10.	Symposium	L	L	M	M	M	L	M	L	L	M	M	M	L	M	L	1
11.	Workshop	L	L	M	M	M	L	M	M	L	M	M	M	L	M	L	2
12.	Seminar	M	M	M	M	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	M	L	L	L	2
13.	Conference	M	M	M	M	M	L	M	M	L	M	M	M	L	L	L	2
14.	In-Basket Exercise	L	M	M	M	M	H	L	H	H	M	M	M	L	L	L	1
15.	Exercise/Application Project	L	H	M	H	H	M	M	H	H	H	H	M	L	M	M	2
16.	Programme Instruction	H	H	M	H	H	H	M	H	H	M	M	L	L	L	L	1
17.	On the job training	M	H	M	H	H	H	M	H	H	M	M	L	L	M	M	2
18.	Demonstration	H	H	L	M	M	H	M	M	H	H	M	M	M	M	M	2
19.	Field Trip	H	H	L	M	H	M	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	H	M	2

KEY : Column 3-17: High=H, Medium=M, Low=L. Column 18: Oneway-1, Twoway-2.

Child Welfare Measures in Arunachal Pradesh

Krishna R. Haldipur

A child comes into the world a helpless individual and remains helpless for many years to come. He is an individual in the process of growing up and as such belongs to the very vulnerable group in society. If we accept this premise, a great many implications, follow from it, which will define our role in the welfare of the child.

It is significant and symbolic that Arunachal Pradesh 'Land of the Dawn-lit Mountains'—the far-flung corner of India, which first greets the Dawn, should also bring a breath of freshness and vigour in translating into reality the dreams of the planners and policy-makers. Isolated for centuries by its difficult environment and terrain, half million inhabitants of this land of rich variety attracted the notice of the rest of the sub-continent and of the world with a sudden impact after the border happenings of 1962. The area, then known as NEFA, consisting of hills stretching endlessly: some rugged, others wooded—insulated by the vast expanse of the once unfordable Brahmaputra—has provoked and excited the interest and curiosity of explorers, travellers and anthropologists as far back as the 19th century. It, however, remained for a long time a close preserve of the scholars and adventurers, very little being known to the outside world. The attitude of the British who took over control of Assam and the contiguous areas in 1826, as well as that of Zhom Kings who preceded them, was that of either conciliation or non-interference. Their main interest was to contain the hill-people and thereby avoid feuds, warfare and bloodshed. The British interest was primarily commercial—tea gardens and other forest or agricultural produce. Their policies in any field were geared up to this objective. More active interest in the administration of this area was taken by the British after the World War I. Efforts were made after 1942 to divide the area into districts (then known as

Frontier Tracts) and to have some infrastructure of district administration. There were, however, only three schools with 50 students on rolls in 1947. It was only after the attainment of Independence that the focus shifted to welfare projects undertaken to meet the actually felt and other needs of the people living in the hills.

The corner-stone of the policy adopted by the NEFA Administration since 1954 was the well-known view of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. Talking about hill people of India—especially with reference to NEFA he said “I am not sure which is the better way of living—the tribal or our own. In some respects, I am quite certain, theirs is better. Therefore it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority to tell them how to behave or what to do or not do. There is no point in trying to make of them a second rate copy of ourselves.” The question thus really posed before the Administration was to find a golden mean between the two extreme positions of isolation on the one hand and total unscientific assimilation on the other. In day-to-day administration, this created delicate situations and a welfare or developmental scheme very often involved tightrope walking.

Topography and other environmental constraints—so also the geographical location *vis-a-vis* the other parts of the N.E region tend to romanticise the place for the poet and the artist. But these are hard realities which only need to be seen to believe. Arunachal Pradesh extends over 84,000 square kilometres—hardly any of it flat. The fractured hills, yawning gorges and valleys—restless with landslides alternating with primordial and dense forests have always been a challenge to anyone living there. The expanse of the area stands in contrast to the low density of population. Within this, there are variations in the organizational patterns and social philosophy, ranging from the near monolithic chieftainship of the Wanchos and Noctes to the extreme democracy of the Adis—from virility and volatileness of some, to gentleness and modesty of others. One comes across the same variation where religious faith is concerned—from various shades of nature worship to various sects of Buddhism. Now the same group of people have boldly stepped into the 20th century—a phenomenon which baffles the students of social change. The main concentration of population is in villages—usually situated on tops or spurs of hills—though the size and configuration may vary from area to area or group to group. One cannot but be struck by the rich variety of life and culture, customs and habits, dialects and social institutions. Their song and dance are no less attractive than their colourful apparel and flamboyant headdress. One wonders at the excellence of their artistic taste exhibited in the execution of little details—in the hand-woven cloth, head-dresses and their weapons making them merge with their environment as if nature and man were pieced inextricably together. Even a bird's eye-view of the area and people can reveal the rich variety which makes the task of

Administration both exciting and difficult. One, however, finds a common thread running through all the differences and is struck by the Unity in Diversity. Any policy—especially developmental—has to be based on these areas of agreement rather than variations. According to Late Dr. Elwin—the then Adviser for Tribal Affairs—the people of the area are distinguished by ‘psychological imponderables’. The first is their exceptionally cooperative character. The village works as a whole in agriculture, ceremonials and war. There are no heretics in religion and few dissidents in village society. There are no caste differences, whereas social distinctions are flexible. Their self-reliance has been exemplary and has sustained them in their struggle for existence during all the past centuries—when they did everything for themselves—construction of village-paths, planning and building of bridges, devising various machines and contraptions—producing their daily requirements—including cooking utensils, ornaments, cloth, hats and grinding mechanisms. Their village government consists of councils: the council of Idu Mishmis, known as Abbala—the Monpas with their strong sense of protocol electing the Chorgins, the ‘Buliang’ of the Apatanis, Jangs of the Sherdukpens, the Kebang of the Adis are some of the examples.

The great task for Administration has, therefore, been the transformation of a society where some sections of the population were still living in near stone-age era. The passage had to be smooth and care taken to guard against development of feelings which may destroy their pride in their indigenous institutions. The attempt should be to give the people some of the technical blessings of the modern world without making them break away from the past. The various changes and activities had to be introduced according to preparedness and receptivity of the particular people. It is essential to bear in mind the fact that social change does not take place in a straight line—perhaps it is along a parabolic curve or more probably a zig-zag—with the acceptance of innovations and resistance to change both pulling in diametrically opposite directions. The leadership may throw up new patterns of life and loyalty which have to be observed. No cultural phenomenon is intelligible apart from its relation to psycho-biological imperatives. In the words of Malinowski “culture is an organic integrated whole and any attempt to study its parts in isolation or abstraction is bound to give a distorted view”.

A fundamental change has come since Independence in the form of shifting of the gear of life from inter-tribal feuds to their cessation; dominance of traditional ritualism to its disappearance. The most natural reaction was the swing of the pendulum to their other extreme. The feeling that these areas had been completely neglected and hence developmental activities had to be speeded up was natural and unavoidable. There was no denying the fact that it was a gigantic task involving huge financial outlay. Whatever field—whether education, agriculture, animal husbandry’

cooperation or social service—it was a problem not only of money but also of manpower, material and harnessing of other resources and putting them together. Now after thirty years, since Independence, there is a need to assess whether this has been achieved.

It would be too ambitious to attempt to do justice here to all the aspects of development in Arunachal, although any developmental problem ultimately has to be studied in totality. The focus here is on the "Child Welfare Measures and their Administration". The poet, the mystic and the metaphysicist have glorified the 'Concept of Childhood' but planning and implementing child welfare measures—means a totally different outlook and approach. As in the case of many other developmental activities, a formal and organizational approach to child welfare problems came to this part of our country only in 1963 with the establishment of the State Social Welfare Advisory Board in April 1963, with its headquarters at Shillong (the headquarters of the erstwhile NEFA) and about 300 miles from the present location, Shillong incidentally is now the State capital of the Meghalaya State. Unless one lives and travels in the North-Eastern region, it is difficult to realise what this implies. Shri P.K. Thungon, Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh on the 1st January, 1979 said that the reality was that their children, especially in rural and backward areas, needed certain special treatment, in the sense that they needed a comfortable and good upbringing, so that they could become good citizens in future. The child by reason of his physical and mental immaturity needs special safeguards and care including appropriate legal protection before as well as after birth. In Arunachal Pradesh, because of low percentage of literacy, the rural people were still steeped in darkness. The Government was however, taking certain measures to open adult literacy centres, more schools in the villages and more nutrition centres. He pleaded to the people to cooperate with the implementing agencies to make all such programmes a success, because the object of these programmes was all round development of the people and quite importantly the children constituted a bulk of the population.

A child has been the concern, conscious or unconscious, of any society. What has been done so far appears like a thin layer of butter spread over a huge loaf. This is not so much due to lack of enthusiasm, endeavour or initiative but because of the environmental, demographic and socio-traditional constraints.

Among the environmental constraints, the lack of communications does not need any elaboration. Some form of social services in a methodical and systematic manner were introduced in the area with the First Five Year Plan. This Plan gave greater priority to development of communications and agriculture with a view to laying the infrastructure. During successive Five Year Plans the Government of India assisted the Territory to develop this area in all spheres of economy. At present, the infrastruc-

ture is fairly well-developed but because of the frequency of landslides, subsidences and other upheavals caused by the "youth of the hills and other unpredictable factors—some of the roads have not settled down or need to be realigned. Direct inter-district communications have not yet been established and with one or two exceptions, it is not possible to travel even from one District headquarters to another without using either the North Trunk Road which passes through the neighbouring State of Assam and/or crossing the Brahmaputra with its numerous tributaries—some of which are rainfed while others are snowfed.

The low density of population creates the problem of location of various centres of welfare which can be economically viable, socially acceptable as well as practically feasible. Not very long ago in the living memory of the people of these areas, welfare, inter-village rivalry, aided by insularity and isolation rendered it impossible for any agent of social change to make a dent. They had to be approached with tact and caution; non-conventional methods had to be resorted to.

Mere socio-traditional factors could be pressed into service to aid in organising and implementing any scheme or programme. It would be well to refer to the profound statement of Gandhiji that it was important in the field of education and in other spheres of life that we reconcile man with man, man with society and man with environment. In any developmental programme care has to be taken to see that there is no dichotomy between man and man, man and the social groups and between planning and implementation.

Thus it was felt that there is tremendous scope, now that the frontier has been explored more fully and understood better than 'the world of aborigines' as described by Samuel Johnson in retorting to Boswell or 'another world' as the Mulla Dervish of Mecca chose to term it, three hundred years ago. It is a different world no doubt but one should not forget that it is an indivisible whole which needs a cohesive design, taking into consideration the above constraints—whether traditional, vocational or educational. The people tend to fall back on what has been latent in their arts and culture and their essential unity with the rest of the country.

The programmes undertaken so far are:

- (i) Formation of State Board.
- (ii) Nutrition programmes under Balwadis and A.N.P.
- (iii) ICDS project, re-immunization, etc.
- (iv) Destitute Children's Homes.
- (v) State Children's Fund.
- (vi) Balwadis.

Under longer term project recommendations of Shri J.P. Naik and other educationists who met in a seminar at Itanagar in April 1979 could

provide the guidelines. The situation was analysed by them and it was found that the cost of pre-primary education was approximately five hundred rupees per child, per year. With this cost it was not possible to universalize pre-primary education in Arunachal Pradesh. Analysing the situation the problem was crystalised. In a society, someone is needed to look after a child in the home. This is done by either of the parents or by one of the kith and kin: usually by one of the older girls in the house. In one of the models which was mentioned, a girl coming to school accompanied by a child was not considered a disqualification. Some girls were trained to look after the children by rotation. Elderly women were also engaged at very little cost, to look after the younger ones. In such centres one could take care of the health of the children, immunise them, provide them with food and tell the mothers how to look after the child in their own homes. It was reiterated that Arunachal could not go for universalisation of elementary education unless this type of model was adopted. Here education and development should go together. A young State like Arunachal Pradesh has to plan to bridge the gap between education and development.

A pilot project may be tried for reconstruction of education (Education for Development) in selected areas where every development department can work with the school to the extent it is possible. The concept was further elucidated, mentioning that if any department needs a carpenter, a carpentry school could be started with illiterate boys of that area and in 9 months' time the school could produce good carpenters. Thus, carpentry could be combined with education. For developing the project three things are needed: (i) projection of manpower requirement; (ii) the basic skills required; and (iii) the strategy of development. Having once got the strategy of development it will be seen how in the area of pilot project the school and development departments can function together and produce results for the people, who have had no formal education whatsoever and enhance their skills so that they made better craftsmen or artisans. At the time of training them in the skills, some education also can be imparted.

The main purpose of these projects could be to prevent the wastage that we find. Today in the educated world where the dropouts usually tend to become 'square pegs in round holes or vice versa' there is every possibility of their getting alienated from their social-background.

Three basic points in this regard are relevant: (i) clear-cut realization that there is no solution to the problem in the model we have so far adopted or the new one suggested; (ii) if this is agreed to then one starts with whatever people and at whatever level they are; and (iii) models are available in different areas: these could be adapted for pilot experiments.

In the rural areas, the family cannot be divided into age groups of 3 to 6 years or 6 to 11 years. The family has to be dealt with as one unit. The social method of learning in a group where all ages are more combined and

one learns from the other would be beneficial in such settings.

The present educational system that has been adopted has the principle: *Time Constant and Achievement Variable*. Prof Groom has done an experiment in Chicago on *Achievement Constant and Time Variable* and found that the difference of time for the same achievement between the brightest and the dullest is 1:3. This principle can also be followed in reorganisation of the system in Arunachal Pradesh.

As elsewhere, modern techniques in surgery or treatment like plastic-surgery, orthodontistry, or live blood transfusion, H RTP or premature termination of pregnancy on health grounds which once upon a time met with strong resistance—are becoming exceedingly popular—nay there is tendency to go to the other extreme—of an excessive demand for medical care. There is a rush to the outpatient department for an ordinary bleeding finger or common childhood ailments like measles, chicken pox or mumps. Seeing the overcrowding at the outpatient department at Itanagar General Hospital and the team of variant Specialists trying to cope with them, makes us conscious of the 'yawning gap' between planning and implementation of health measures, between the visionary and the field-worker, the administrator and the community that he is expected to administer.

This drings us to the inescapable conclusion that education is the basic agent of change—not the one which preserves the dynamic and constructive aspects of traditional society and which acts as a funnel for constructive aspirations, so that tomorrow's generations may look back with pride on their past and yet await the future with a hope and dynamism which so characterise the people of the State.

What is needed is a healthy, robust realism for much of the success will depend on how well coordinated the administrative machinery is. This in turn needs a 'systems-approach', taking into account 'resources and their utilization'. To quote late Dr. D.R. Gadgil, "In planning, in an under-developed country, inadequacy of data has to be taken for granted. What I would like to emphasise is not so much full information or elaborate tools of analysis as the desire to understand the situation—to define a set of coordinated goals with some precision and to think of possibilities carefully and in some detail." Ultimately in day to day life it boils down to: "Some food to all the people, fresh clean drinking water, some clothing for all the people, some decent comfortable housing even if modest for every family—at least some primary education for all school-going children; some preventive, diagnostic, curative medical coverage for the expectant and nursing mothers, infants and toddlers. If all this could be achieved soon, Arunachal Pradesh should be a land of great opportunity towards the turn of the century. This is possible only if there is total involvement of the people in their achievement of well-defined goals. The two major-gaps in the system of social dynamics: loss of faith and a

loss of sense of direction will have to be bridged. Today the administration is so fragmented that the effort is being made to achieve the social and economic objectives through various departments which are working at cross-purposes. This is amply evident in the programmes for the children. Arunachal Pradesh is trying to avoid this, by coordination committees at various levels. It seems the day is not far off when the economic problems would not ignore the investment on man—particularly the child who should be provided with proper environment for his nurturing and development. ■

Child Labour in a Developing Economy

G. Ramachandran

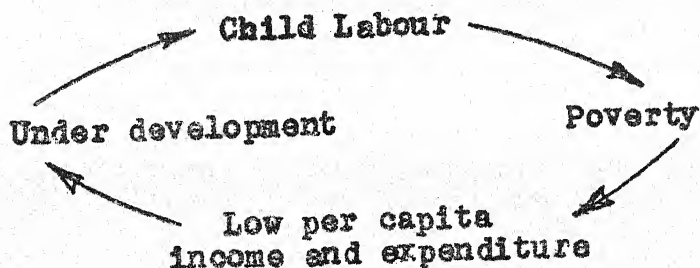
THE purpose of this paper is to delineate the causes of child labour in developing economies with special reference to India.

In developing countries, the major part of the labour force available to the society is engaged in producing a bare subsistence for the population. Food is the major component of the subsistence and hence agriculture is the sole productive occupation. Therefore, the community can survive only by the majority of its workers being engaged in agriculture.

In a dynamic developed society, skills and techniques are continuously changing, while skills and techniques are handed over from one generation to another in a static economy. The economic value of literacy is very low in these economies. If children went to school, then education did not extend beyond an acquaintance with the fact that no investment is needed for formal education and training explains the phenomenon of children being pushed into productive work at a very early age.

All the studies on Child Labour have attributed the cause of it to *poverty*. Every single response to the questionnaire stated the cause of child labour to be *poverty*. When the parents of these children were interviewed, they stated that they were forced to send their children to work because of their poverty. The employers employed them because they are cheap labour due to their poverty. Therefore, analysing the factors leading to the causes of child labour, we are caught in a poverty syndrome, which can be illustrated on next page.

Poverty is at once the cause and result of underdevelopment. A backward and developing economy faces a multitude of problems. It is not therefore correct to make a comparison of the national incomes of developing and developed countries. However, it is interesting to note that according to a World Bank Survey based on data collected up to 1968, the GNP per capita of USA was 40 times larger than India in the late 1950s.



According to a recent World Bank Report, the GNP per capita in 1975 in India was US \$ 141 and US \$ 7118 for the United States of America.

The Total child population in India in 1975 in the 0-14 age group was about 256 million, while it is 54 million for the United States. In the same period (1975) about 15 million children were in the labour force in India, while only about 3.26 lakh children were in the labour force in U.S. It is not surprising, therefore, that a comparison of statistics of working children below 14 years shows that there are 10.4 million according to the 1971 census working children in India, while the number is about 0.2 million for US (1979). (According to ILO estimates it is 0.3 million for the entire Northern America.) This shows that even in 1979, the working children in India is almost 36 times more than in the United States of America.

The root cause of child labour stems from economic backwardness leading to poverty forcing the children to earn a living to sustain themselves and to supplement family income.

There is a strong correlation between the characteristics of economic backwardness and poverty which is the cause of child labour. Backward economy is characterised by a predominance of primitive methods of production which account for the low productivity of labour and per capita incomes. Consequently, the propensity to save and invest hardly exists. Agriculture becomes the dominant occupation. Characteristically the largest employment of child labour is in agriculture. Apart from this, the high rate of illiteracy also leads to the highest rate of child labour. Apart from these, other social factors also contribute to backwardness. A number of these characteristics reinforce one another and thus prolong the general agony of backwardness.

The working group set up by the Planning Commission, Government of India, in 1962 recommended that the national minimum for each household of 5 persons should not be less than Rs. 100 per month, in terms of 1960-61 prices or Rs. 20 per capita. For urban areas it would be Rs. 125 per month or Rs. 25 per capita to cover the higher prices of commodities. This excludes expenditure on health and education which is provided by the State. The most recent estimate of the proportion of Indian population that falls below the poverty standard is based on the results of the

28th round of the National Sample Survey for the year 1973-74.

Property level and percentage of persons below poverty level 1973-74

<i>Socio-economic group</i>	<i>Range of poverty line (Rs. per capita per month at current prices)</i>	<i>Range of percentage of population below poverty level</i>
Rural	Rs. 43.85—53.50	41.4—60.1
Urban	Rs. 56.25—62.50	48.1—55.2

According to the (1978-1983) Plan Document, the percentage of population below poverty line for 1977-78 is estimated as follows:

Rural	47.85
Urban	40.71
All India	46.33

The recommendation of the Working Group has been modified in the draft Sixth Year Plan 1978-79, wherein per capita monthly expenditure of Rs. 61.80 for rural and 71.30 for urban area at 1976-77 prices has been accepted.

This emphasises the focal point that most of the working children come from the low income bracket, rather the lowest income bracket, in the economy. During the visit of the Committee on Child Labour to various factories and establishments and other institutions in different States, it was revealed that most of the parents of the children who are working, earn between 100 to 200 per month with a family ranging between 5-10 members. According to the Survey conducted in Bombay by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, it was brought out that 52 per cent of the families surveyed earn between Rs. 25 to Rs. 500 per month. This included the contribution of the children's earning to the family incomes, which was about 23 per cent of the family income. In the Survey conducted on working children in Urban Delhi by Indian Council of Child Welfare, it was again brought out that 88 per cent of the households surveyed had a monthly income of less than Rs. 500 and 38 per cent of the households surveyed had less than Rs. 250 per month. Over three-fourth of the households surveyed, included the incomes from the child workers which was on an average 14.4 per cent of the total income of these families. According to the survey conducted in Delhi, the households with working children on an average was slightly larger by way of family members than the average households.

It is seen from the per capita income figures of 1977-78 and the per-

centage of child workers to total workers that there is a strong correlation between the volume of working children and the per capita incomes. The only exception to this is Kerala, where other factors contribute to the low rate of working children. Taking a few States, for example, in Andhra Pradesh the per capita income, at constant prices was Rs. 322 and the percentage of child workers to total workers was 9.03. In Punjab, the per capita income was Rs. 625 while the percentage of child workers to total workers is 5.95. In Tamil Nadu, the per capita income is Rs. 657 while the percentage of child workers to total workers was 4.83. The comparative figures for various states and union territories may be seen in Annexure I. This once again highlights that a lower per capita income of the parents is responsible for their increasingly sending the children to work to supplement the family income.

Another basic factor leading to child labour is 'cultural inertia'. By this, we mean that the society accepts the child more or less as an adult and expects the child to earn an income to sustain himself and to add to family income. The parents feel that after the child reaches the age of 7 or 8, that he or she should earn an income and should not just be one more mouth to be fed in the family. Perhaps, the parents may not really like the child to work but may be compelled to send the child to earn the livelihood. Most families in the low income bracket feel that an addition to the family is not an extra mouth to feed but an extra pair of hands to earn for the family. This has again been borne out by the various studies which have been conducted and also during the visits of the Committee on Child Labour. For example, amongst the children employed in weaving industry in Tamil Nadu, almost all the children interviewed had 3 to 5 brothers and sisters apart from himself who were also earning members. Amongst the children working in match factories in Sivakasi, there were again 3 to 5 brothers and sisters who were working in match or firework factories in the neighbouring areas. It was only in a few cases that we came across children who mentioned that their young brothers or sisters were studying while the elder of the children worked in fire and match work factories to supplement the family income. Actually, according to a member of the INTUC in Sivakasi, unless four children and two elders work, a family cannot sustain itself. This point regarding large families was once again borne out amongst the beedi workers in Tirunelveli. Most of the girls in the families roll beedies at home. Most of them had 4 to 5 sisters and brothers. This pattern was repeated amongst children in the weaving and fish peeling industry in Kerala. The same pattern emerged when the children in urban Calcutta were interviewed by the members of the Committee. Most of the working children had more than 3 to 4 brothers and sisters. Large families were also the feature amongst Plantation workers in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. This emphasises the fact that parents feel that children are a source of income rather than any added responsibility for them. This may

perhaps seem a sweeping statement, but it is nevertheless true that the parents do force the children to work because of poverty.

Looking a little deeper into this problem as to why the parents send the child to work it becomes clear that a child grows up in an environment where it is normally expected that a child will work from an early age. It is, therefore, not considered extraordinary in extracting work from a young child. In the urban areas, as a child grows up in a slum, he sees poverty all round and grows up as a precarious child since it is exposed to all the evils of slum life like brawls, shady dealings, liquor and so on. It is not surprising, therefore, that the child perceives things which are beyond his age and either gets involved in the shady dealings or tries to eke out some sort of a living, working in a tea shop or a petty shop or in some other occupation, where child labour predominates. The environment plays a big role in the problem of working children.

The cause of cultural inertia is not only with the parents of working children but also with the employers and the society as a whole. In a country like ours, the total apathy to perceive the dangers of employing the young and the very young who would constitute the future generations is really agonising. The society accepts working children as a matter of course. Unless there is social awareness to this problem, rules and regulations will not in any way touch even the fringe of this problem. We come across a cross-section of employers who felt and say as much that they employ children only in the interest of the children and for them to earn a living. Varied interpretations are given ranging from "keeping the children out of mischiefs; it is better for the children to work than to become delinquent, the parents are so poor that they beg us to employ the children" and many more in the same line. What is surprising is the benevolent attitude adopted by the employers and a complacency towards this enormous problem of employing children and depriving them of their childhood.

The society as a whole should realise the importance and the enormity of this problem. It is needless to emphasise that late and long hours of work leaves the child impaired and reduces his productivity during his adulthood. In fact, it has been mentioned that medical practitioners associated with the Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi have found that the working conditions of children result in permanent damage to their health. Any kind of arduous work, whether in industries or in handicrafts or any other quasi-organised and traditional industries, the probabilities of the child contracting an ailment is considerably high. The motive for changing the environment and for breaking this cultural inertia should emanate from the people. Apart from being an economic problem primarily for the families of these young workers, for the nation as a whole, this is the tremendous social problem.

We have earlier seen the problems for under-development. In this context, it must be mentioned that economic backwardness leads to a distor-

tion of priorities in the planning mechanism. A developing nation naturally concentrates on the development of the industries and other sectors. Welfare aspects of children, women and the family as a unit are relegated to a lower priority. However, what is significant and which is missed by most planners is that unless the apathy and cultural inertia is broken, any development oriented programme will not succeed, particularly development in agriculture and industry will not materialise.

It is, therefore, necessary that an economy should go through a trauma of revolution both in industry and in society. Lack of education, again is one of the fundamental cause of child labour. There is no denying the fact that once children are sent to school, automatically the employment of children comes down. This aspect is borne out by the fact that literacy and employment of children have a positive correlation. While in Kerala, the literacy rate is as high as 604 (per thousand), the percentage of child worker to total population is 0.52 per cent while in Andhra Pradesh, where the literacy rate is 246, the percentage of child workers to total population is 3.74. Again in Tamil Nadu, where the literacy rate is 395, the percentage of child workers to total population is 1.73, while Pondicherry, with a literacy rate of 460, the percentage of child workers is 0.85. With a lower literacy rate, it is also found that the percentage of child workers in rural areas is much higher as, for example, in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan. Education whether formal or non-formal, can be the only effective measure we can think of to solve a part of this problem.

Annexure I

Sl. No.	States/Union Territories	Population in '000 (1971 Census)	% of child Population	% of child workers total population	% of child workers to total workers	% of child workers to total children	% of child workers to total workers		Life-racy	1977-78 Per capita income at constant prices
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1.	All India	5,47,950	42.02	1.96	5.95	4.66	6.82	2.42	294	690
2.	Andhra Pradesh	43,503	40.48	3.74	9.03	9.23	9.85	4.16	246	322
3.	Assam	14,958	46.86	1.60	5.64	3.40	6.00	2.65	287	552
4.	Bihar	59,353	42.58	1.88	6.06	4.41	7.39	2.52	199	422
5.	Gujarat	26,697	43.05	1.94	6.17	4.50	7.52	2.04	358	408
6.	Haryana	10,037	46.23	1.37	5.20	2.95	5.92	1.81	269	482
7.	Himachal Pradesh	3,460	41.20	2.05	5.55	4.97	5.88	1.33	320	359
8.	J & K	4,617	42.88	1.52	5.09	3.53	5.59	2.41	186	355
9.	Karnataka	29,299	42.44	2.76	7.94	6.50	8.96	4.07	315	366
10.	Kerala	21,347	40.26	0.52	1.80	1.30	1.79	1.87	604	291
11.	Madhya Pradesh	41,654	43.70	2.67	7.27	6.10	8.02	2.02	221	494
12.	Maharashtra	50,412	41.34	1.96	5.37	4.74	6.79	1.59	390	527
13.	Manipur	1,073	42.50	1.49	4.31	3.50	4.79	1.13	329	500

14. Meghalaya	1,012	43.58	2.96	6.71	6.80	7.45	1.46	295	NA
15. Nagaland	516	37.91	2.71	5.34	7.14	5.74	0.63	274	NA
16. Orissa	21,945	42.35	2.24	7.18	5.29	7.56	3.06	262	523
17. Punjab	13,551	41.28	1.72	5.95	4.16	7.02	2.38	337	625
18. Rajasthan	25,766	44.17	2.28	7.29	4.01	8.12	2.46	191	308
19. Tamil Nadu	41,199	37.77	1.73	4.84	4.58	5.56	2.74	395	657
20. Tripura	1,556	44.22	1.09	3.94	2.47	4.28	1.69	310	374
21. Uttar Pradesh	88,341	41.84	1.50	4.85	3.58	5.16	2.74	267	503
22. West Bengal	44,312	42.90	1.15	4.13	2.68	5.06	1.60	332	387
23. Sikkim									
24. A & N Island	115	38.26	0.87	2.17	2.27	1.33	1.04	436	—
25. Arunachal	465	38.25	3.85	6.67	10.05	6.85	0.74	113	—
26. Chandigarh	257	34.63	0.39	1.16	1.12	1.69	1.22	616	—
27. Dadar & Nagar Haveli	74	45.95	4.05	8.57	11.76	8.57	—	150	—
28. Delhi	44,066	38.64	0.42	1.38	1.08	2.13	1.32	566	785
29. Goa, Daman & Diu	858	38.11	0.82	2.57	2.14	2.92	2.18	448	1,240
30. Lakshdweep	32	40.63				1.17	—	437	—
31. Pondicherry	472	39.11	0.85	2.84	2.15	2.90	2.18	460	—

Day-Care Service for Children

Shanta Kohli Chandra

NATION'S children are supremely important asset. Their nurture is nation's responsibility and programmes concerning their welfare should have a prominent place in the national plan for the development of human resources. Child welfare in a general sense of the term includes every activity either directly or indirectly promoting welfare of children. This makes the term very vague and broad. In a more specific term child welfare means a specialised field of social work concerned with social role enactment. The recurrent problems with which child welfare concerns, are related to a specific network of social role relationships—those between parents and children. Child welfare services are designed to reinforce, supplement or substitute the functions that parents cannot perform. Services which are primarily concerned with the child whose needs are unmet within the family come under the purview of child welfare. The antecedents, concomitants, and consequences of a particular kind of social problem—the parent-child relationship network and the enactment and implementation of parental roles and child roles are the fields to be explored. A set of behaviour which one is expected to perform by virtue of his position as father, mother, or child is called a social role.

Child welfare services can be categorised as supportive, supplemental or substitute services. These categories are not mutually exclusive and sometimes tend to overlap.

Supportive services include the services of child guidance clinics, and the work of child protective agencies. They are the first line of defence in dealing with actual or incipient problems of child welfare, when the family and parent-child relationship system is intact but subject to stress. They use the family's own strength and work toward reduction of strain in the parent-child relationship system.

Supplementary services include financial maintenance programmes of

all kinds. They are the second line of defence. They are called upon when parent-child relationship is seriously impaired because a significant aspect of the parental role is inadequately covered, but the family configuration is of such a nature, that, with supplementation the child can continue to live at home without any harm.

Substitute services and the third line of defence. They are used when the situation is so damaging that it requires either a temporary or a permanent dissolution of the parent-child relationship system. A substitute family is offered in a foster home, an adoptive home or in an institution. In substitute family care the natural parent of the child yields almost total responsibility to somebody else for the performance of the parental role in relation to the child.

Child welfare services thus are one element in the total fabric of a social system. These services reflect the nature of the economy, the family organisation and the position of the child in a society. The social problems concerning the child are as old as mankind. The orphan child, the illegitimate child, the rejected child, the abandoned child, and the handicapped child have always been with the society. The network of modern agencies and services designed to deal with the problems concerning children is rather of recent origin.

A general solution to all the problems of child welfare can be to eliminate the problems at their source. The first line of defence against the development of problems, therefore, would be contraception. But if we fail in contraception, abortion or infanticide or if the society rejects these solutions, it must assume the responsibility of caring those whose life it has saved.

Day-care is a supplementary child welfare service. It is employed in situations which require family care for the child to be supplemented for some part of the day.

For some reason or the other if parental roles are not adequately implemented the day-care is used to salvage the situation. A day-care centre, as its primary function, provides group care and supervision of supplemental parental care during the day to the children whose parents are unable to care for them due to employment or some other regular engagement. As an engaged employee, the mother temporarily relinquishes her role of the mother and the day-care centre assumes the role-functions relinquished by the mother while she is engaged. This problem of inadequate role implementation that results from inter-role conflict gets its solution in day-care centres for the children.

We are experiencing a trend toward an increase of women in the labour force. The working mothers with pre-school children pose particular problems. The mothers contributing to the family income in an industrial economy have to work outside the home. With the fading away of the joint family system, the child can be looked after by the day-care

centres during the absence of the mother. The value of day-care can be judged from the help it provides to child being maintained in his own home. The mother who must work, can do so without finding a substitute home for the child. It increases the alternative solutions available to the family in solving problems of role coverage and role enactment. The problems relating to income deficiency are also looked after by the day-care. Its role as a supplementary service has great preventive role.

There is a growing acceptance of the fact that mothers' employment is 'normal' and in many cases necessary. This is no reflection on child neglect and there is necessarily no inherent danger or harm attached to it. This trend only suggests great need for day-care and greater acceptance of it. For an adequate day-care programme, team approach involving partnership of education, health, nutrition, recreation and social work is required.

The problems handled by the child welfare agencies are universal. The services available in a country to meet children's needs, would depend upon factors such as the economic resources available for caring for children, their ratio to productive adults, the general attitude towards them and the availability of alternative patterns of mutual aid in the primary groups.

In the day-care centre which shares the day-time responsibility with parents, protection is provided to the child for his overall total development. The child is not only given a custodial care for assuring his safety and security, but also gets services which promote his health, nutrition, welfare, education, recreation and other such services needed for the total development of his personality.

Day-care can be provided both as a commercial service and as a social service. Provided by the government this service becomes social service and provided by entreprenuring persons on private basis the service becomes a commercial service. Whichever way the service is provided, it is better than leaving children at home without any supervision.

Day-care as a child welfare service is an expression of the community's concern for the welfare and protection of children whose parents need help in providing care, protection and experiences essential to the healthy development of children of the working mothers. This supplementary care can be provided under a variety of designations, such as, day-care centres, day nurseries, creches, child care centres, nursery schools, play schools, child development centres and family day-care homes. It is a public 'utility' in an advanced industrial society. In developing countries it should be made available as a public service to meet essential needs. It should be delivered on the same basis as any other public service provided. We should try to institute the similar policy which removed education from the confines of the family and made it a public responsibility. The young child needs warmth, love and affection of the mother even during

mother's absence. The location of these centres, therefore, should be convenient to the mother. It can be best situated near the working place so that in the short rest-intervals too, the mother can go and see her child. But if the environment is not fit for the child for reasons of industrial pollution, it could be situated near their homes. It should be spacious and properly ventilated. Cleanliness of the environment is very essential. Light, temperature, noise to which children are sensitive, come under physical environment and should be linked with the psychological environment which is created by the tone of voice used by the adult, the touch of the personnel working for the children and the behaviour of the peer group. Along with the adequate floor space, attention should be paid to colourfully decorating the walls, ventilation for fresh air and sun light and possibly a garden for the children. For the efficient functioning of the centre, the timings should suit the mothers and the place should be well equipped to enhance the creative thinking of the child. For the underprivileged children the centre should function as an institutionalised compensatory mechanism so that the development process is not hampered. The children need nutritious food particularly at the crucial stages of their growth. Standards required for adequate nutrition of pre-school children should be the basis for the centre too. Protein calorie requirements and nutrition balance should be maintained. Along with nutrition, health should include regular checks by the doctors or the trained para-medical workers. The approach, specially for the underprivileged child should be preventive rather than curative. Systematic immunisation against diphtheria, whooping cough, small pox, measles, typhoid, polio, alongwith deworming would give solutions to health problems faced by the children. Non-formal education for the mothers to get them away from the clutches of superstition and ignorance should be introduced as it helps in the prevention of diseases.

Day-care is an institution organised in response to a social problem which to some extent changes the role relationship. But the profession of social work hesitates to commit that it has responsibility for day-care. It has not yet arrived a status which may assure it a place among the essential social work programmes. There are some people who plead for its inclusion in the educational programmes because school is accepted in all communities as a centre for child care. But there are many others, who argue that the care and the concomitant education of children should be matters of public concern and support. The trend in day-care reflects the trend in the social situation. The trend today is toward an increase in mothers' working: the concomitant trend, therefore, is toward some increase in the need for day-care service. An enriched day-care programme which requires the increasing professionalisation of day-care personnel, calls for development of a well-supported nationwide programme which could provide education for pre-school children. Our efforts need to be

expanded at the national and community levels to provide lasting improvements in the well-being of our children. Special attention should be paid to those in the most vulnerable and particularly disadvantaged group. Working mothers who face inadequate role implementation because of inter-role conflict must be provided with assurance of this role being taken up by some substitute for the period of their absence from home so that they could contribute to the family income and national productivity without any mental worry. All this suggests concern for the need of day-care and a greater acceptance of day-care.

In developing countries, these day-care services have made their beginning. As the number of female labour is increasing day by day the services need to be expanded both in the urban as well as rural areas. □

Some Aspects of the Welfare of the Retarded

Anima Sen

"MENTAL retardation is perhaps the greatest single source of human suffering. The child born mentally retarded is not only a tragic human figure in himself, living yet not alive, since he is never to be what he could have been, but he is the innocent agent of profound and endless suffering to his family and a perpetual burden to his society." This is how the problem of mental retardation is frequently described.

The problem of the mentally retarded child is quite serious particularly in an over populated developing country like India. The retarded population in India could be anywhere between 1.5 to 2 crores, with which about 4,00,000 are being added every year. This gloomy picture, however, has a silver lining as around 75 per cent of the retarded are known to be only mildly retarded, another 20 per cent moderately retarded, and only 5 per cent beyond any hope who need custodial care. Nevertheless, India being the second most populous country in the world, its proportionate share of the retarded appears to be increasingly alarming.

The nature of care and training required for different categories of the retarded, however, is not the same. The problem is much deep rooted. Even the concept of retardation is not clear to many. The legal provision for the protection of the retarded is far from being satisfactory. The attitude of the public towards the retarded is lamentably unfavourable. The literacy rate is very low in India. Around 80 per cent of the population in India are rural habitants. Many families do not even recognise the presence of a retarded child, unless the problem is of a severe nature. The number of such service agencies is also not large enough to cater to the needs of the bulk of the retarded. The existing services for the mentally retarded in India cater for less than one per cent of the total number of the retarded. There are about 150 institutions in India that cater to about 7,500 mentally retarded. Even these existing services are not evenly distributed throughout the country.

The problem of the retarded in the villages is not the same as it is experienced in the cities. In the villages as also sometimes in cities many are ignorant about the concept of mental retardation. When the child is unable to continue at school, he is automatically absorbed in the family trade. However, in many cases, their handicap would be conspicuous if they are transferred from a rural set-up to an urban one.

In the cities, when the mentally handicapped child cannot continue at school, he poses a serious problem for the family and also for the community at large. Industrialisation-cum-urbanisation makes adjustment more difficult for the retarded. However, no sample survey as yet has covered the prevalence of mental retardation in rural areas. Lack of knowledge and understanding of some causative factors becomes a hindrance in the way of proper planning for service oriented programmes for the retarded.

Two major perspectives for tackling the problem of mental retardation are prevention and amelioration. The task of prevention would imply adopting primary preventive measures against those conditions which are conducive to the development of mental retardation. Since many factors are involved in the aetiology of mental deficiency, preventive measures would also be diverse in nature. Amelioration would involve seeking of welfare measures—educational, social and rehabilitational, for some kind of intervention aimed at modifying an existing or developing effect.

Techniques for primary prevention of all the known pathological conditions leading to mental retardation are by no means complete. Nevertheless quite a few pathological conditions to date are known to be amenable to preventive measures some of which would be applicable, by and large, in Indian settings as well.

Some of the preventive measures would include avoidance of late pregnancy, family planning, adequate immunisation programme, genetic counselling, proper antenatal, post-natal and obstetric care, avoidance of consanguineous marriages (which is prevalent in certain communities) and adequate nutrition programme, amongst, others. The scope of prevention of mental retardation in India has been detailed elsewhere (Sen, 1979).

The prospects of holding the incidence of mild retardation, however, do not seem to be very promising. Among the mildly retarded (comprising more than 75 per cent of the retarded), the organic factors are implicated only in a small number of the cases. A proportion of this group of retarded justifies their existence as being the normal genetic variation. Majority of them are subcultural in origin. Genetic and environmental factors, however, in themselves are not always uncorrelated. About 25 per cent of the retarded population are comprised of more severe grade of retardation; and the major responsibility seems to be vested in an attempt to ameliorate the adverse conditions for the rest.

So far as mild retardation is concerned, social-cultural deprivation seems to be one of the major causes, though the mechanism of the relationship between the two is, by no means clear. It is worthwhile to note that in the developed countries, in spite of continued diminishing inequality in economic and housing and other facilities, occupational class over the past decades could not wipe out the stigma of backwardness being associated with mental retardation.

In western countries, cultural deprivation is noticed primarily in low-socio-economic groups (Hurley, 1969). However, the term cultural deprivation perhaps needs a careful definition in Indian setting. As noted by Sen (1976) when the size of the country and diversity of population with numerous languages, religions and cultures are taken into consideration, Indian social structure appears to be highly complex. In India, caste, and joint family system (though it is now in its waning stage) have some impact on the determination of the constraints of culture. The interaction of caste and socio-economic conditions in determining cultural deprivation is highly complex. The highest caste *brahmin* and the lowest caste *sudra* (now called *harijan*) have been separated by birth for generations, and that birth in a high caste may compensate for poverty. In rural India, caste and socio-economic status may go together, but in a highly bureaucratic and urban society, education, occupation, and income are indicators of socio-economic status, each of these factors determining the other.

Because of the complex nature of the Indian social structure, it is reasonable to assume that it would be much more difficult to eradicate some of the social evils like poverty, casteism, prejudices, poor nutrition, inadequate health services, substandard housing, inferior education and unemployment, *in toto*.

Poor nutrition whether during the reproductive cycle or after birth, can impair intelligence sometimes by causing irreversible effect upon brain growth and behaviour. Kaplan (1972) commented that although a causal connection has not been directly demonstrated, malnutrition is a contributing factor in the incidence of mental retardation. Das and Pivato (1976) also discussed the effect of protein-caloric-malnutrition (PCM). They pointed out that even when adequate protein is available in the child's diet, it may not be readily absorbed. The cultural peculiarities of a community might also indulge in producing malnutrition.

There are many communities in India who subsist on a strict vegetarian diet. Some rich community may have a low-protein diet while the poor from another subculture might take cheap food, rich in protein. However, as observed by Prabhu (1975), it cannot be stated that incidence of intellectual backwardness is more common in the communities who live on low-protein vegetarian diet. The complexity of the relationship between malnutrition and mental retardation becomes apparent from Indian instances. Elsewhere, Clarke (1976) has also pointed out the difficulty of

establishing the effect of malnutrition on man, as malnutrition being a part of a generally adverse situation, seldom exists in isolation. The unstimulating social context might also have a reflection on malnourishment.

The unholy trinity of illiteracy, poverty and malnutrition contributes to disadvantages in the intellectual and social development of the growing child. Poverty also forces the off-springs of the poor to have very limited sphere of experiences. The role of stimulating environment on the development of intellectual and social competence has been the object of research since the day of Itard (1801.)

Any study of malnutrition in any country is essentially an ecological study. The quality of the house environment, the individual qualities of the parents, the parents' own upbringing, and the social context into which the child is born — are some of the pertinent factors. Richardson (1972) has listed some of the ecological factors and these are: mother's intellectual status and educational background, her attitude, her capabilities including verbal ability, child rearing practices, acceptance of new ideas and her aspiration for the child, family characteristics such as stability of the family, social relations between family, friends and neighbours, the child's relationship with the peer group and the community and his activities in the school, etc.

It is interesting to note that most of the ecological factors are customarily discussed in the context of cultural deprivation. Some of the concomitants of cultural deprivation are supposed to be unstimulating environment, lack of verbal correspondence, poor sensory experience and low socio-economic conditions.

As over 80 per cent of India's population live in villages, it can be assumed that a substantial portion of the mildly retarded would be from rural areas. In predominantly rural and agricultural set-up in India, the method of production and farming has not yet been subjected to very sophisticated techniques. In this setting, even the mildly retarded can join the family trade without requiring any special training. He can be guided, just like other members of the family, by father or guardian or other relatives, to work in the field. The training for this group of people, therefore, does not pose a serious problem for the community. However, industrialisation brings in more and more urbanisation, which consequently makes the problem of mental handicap conspicuous.

Mental retardation is not just a medical problem. It is basically a social problem. It is a challenge for the inter-disciplinary sciences having direct or indirect concern for the problem of mental retardation. Amelioration programme involving welfare measures — educational, social and rehabilitational, would be the correct perspective for modifying an existing or developing condition. This is particularly relevant in view of the fact that holding the incidence of mild retardation is not so promising.

The type of education, care and training required for different categories of the retarded is not the same. Early identification and intervention are some of the prerequisites. The principle of normalisation should be followed as far as practicable.

Adequate provisions for this section of people need to be made. They could be best educated in special schools leading ultimately to prevocational training. In fact in a recent study Nalwa and Sen (1979) found that instead of mainstreaming of the retarded, the special schools in a non-institutionalised setting are most beneficial for the retarded.

The moderately retarded needs special educational programme which aim at development in the major learning areas besides training in self care.

Creation of more service centres and day-care centres leading to development and training of the moderately and severely retarded is needed. This should include major developing areas like motor integration, perceptual and motor skills, language and communication and conceptual skills. Special curricula may be developed and standardised for this purpose.

The retarded may be given special training leading to development of adaptive skills involving practical help in their day-to-day life, such as dressing, independent movement, ability to use public transportation, handling of money matters, maintaining personal hygiene, household tasks, learning to communicate about their needs and self help.

The self image of the retarded also needs to be developed. It may be possible to encourage them in expressing their ideas through painting, drawing, clay modelling, sculpture, etc. The Creative Growth Centre in California is doing a wonderful job in this direction.

'Creative Growth' is a community based programme for adults with mental, physical and emotional handicaps in Oakland, California. It provides a supportive, non-competitive art studio environment, counselling, communications and independent living skills, and also an art gallery to display the work of the handicapped participants. A dedicated husband and wife team, Dr. Elias Katz, a Clinical Psychologist and his wife Mrs. Florence-Ludens Katz, an art director, started the centre in 1973 with a grant from the office of Human Development of the U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It is a unique programme dedicated to the idea that all individuals, no matter how severely handicapped, (mentally, physically or emotionally) can gain employment, enjoyment and fulfilment through painting, sculpture, print making, and can also produce works of high artistic merit. It cherishes to the conviction that all people including those with physical, mental, and emotional handicaps—have the capacity to grow and develop as happier, more productive human beings through creative art experiences. The programme is geared to individual needs and many exceptions are made so that the handicapped can grow at their own pace in their own direction. The individuals gain self esteem

while improving communication and social skills, part of the overall development of one's potential for independent living. Counselling and independent living skills are also integrated into the programme of the 'Creative Growth'.

The profoundly retarded who need custodial care constitute only a small portion of the retarded. More institutions may be started in all states to look after such cases. Adequate trained personnel may be employed in such institutes. The families who cannot bear the burden of the profoundly retarded children emotionally and/or financially for life long, need to be helped by the state. This situation may occur to any type of family background, irrespective of race or creed. If the families can afford, they should pay for the care of their wards in the institutions based on their income. If some family wants to keep such children at home, but cannot afford it, they should be given help from the state.

Sheltered workshops may be started in different parts of the country to absorb the mildly retarded and even some moderately retarded who can prove their worth under proper training and care.

The goodwill industries in some western and eastern countries mainly employ the retarded. These industries were first organised in Boston in 1902 by Dr. E.J. Helms, a young Methodist Minister with the objectives of serving the disabled, vocationally handicapped and vocationally disadvantaged by providing vocational rehabilitation services, training opportunities for personal growth and community placement. There are now 160 non-profit autonomous members of goodwill industries of America, Inc. which constitute the nation's largest private rehabilitation programme serving 60 per cent of American vocationally handicapped persons. William C. Wieggers, the executive director of the industries of The Greater East Bay says that, "No matter what abilities a person has lost, other abilities remain. The first big step in giving new hope to a handicapped person is to find what he can do best... it is a living faith, for by it we mean service, team work and a genuine belief in our individual responsibility toward our fellow men, convinced that the true object of all help is to make help unnecessary." Goodwill trains persons with mental, physical or social disability, for jobs that they can do such as warehousemen, food services, sewing, drycleaning and laundry, upholstery, woodwork, small wares repair and bicycle repair. The training in a specific field is provided in accordance with the trainee's own efficiency and employment potential. The training is also geared to specific openings' unskilled or semi-skilled, as available in the communities' placement market.

Today, Goodwill is international in scope with the active support of people of many faiths. There are many Goodwills throughout the USA, Canada and other nations. Each local unit operates independently relying on its own community to formulate and execute its programme. Their venture has been well paid off, as the commodities they sell, are procured

from different families free of cost who want to dispose of their old belongings, used or unused. The donors in exchange get substantial benefit in terms of tax exemption due to their charitable gift. The scheme is working well, the consumer gets the product at a very low price in contrast to market price and all the parties involved are equally benefited from such endeavours. Though it is not sure whether such a scheme would also work with such efficiency in India, the project is, however, worth trying.

In the developed countries, there are ample resources to have elaborate schemes for the welfare of the retarded. The system suits the specific culture and demand as neither the families have time nor have the will to continue with the retarded children. States' help is readily available, and whenever the families can afford, they pay for their wards after sending them to some retarded home and institutes. The 'Clausen House' in California, provides a residential house for the retarded which gives them practical training as well as pre-vocational training. The Clausen House is a series of residential facilities for mentally retarded adults operated by a non-sectarian, non-profit corporation under the sponsorship of the Episcopal Diocese of California. It provides active programming throughout the week in a residential setting which includes elaborate instructions in the basic skills of independent adult living and additional training in living skills. Recreational activities are also included in the programme to enhance the residents' abilities to plan and structure leisure time. The special project GOAL (greater opportunities for adult living) is an apartment facility which provides a semi-independent living situation for those Clausen House residents who are ready for an intensive, individualised programme in independent living.

In India, the retarded child as far as possible is to be looked after by the family. The family bond is strong in India, therefore the child should be absorbed in the family as far as possible. If the mother devotes time for the retarded child in a natural environment, all encouragements and material incentives should be provided to the family. The state may give some financial assistance to the family. Some weekly classes for the parents of the retarded may be organised in different localities which would enable them to be acquainted with the probable solutions for various problems faced by them. They would be able to interchange their ideas and views regarding the problems of their off-springs with the fellow parents.

The residential facilities may be provided for those retarded whose home environment is not a congenial one or whose condition is so profound as to demand care which the family cannot possibly afford.

Proper legal provisions need to be made for the protection of the retarded against exploitation, Sen (1978) elsewhere discussed the problem of paucity of legal provision for the protection of the retarded.

Coordination of professionals concerned with the problem of the

retarded may be effected in the form of periodic meeting organised at different locations. Need for public awareness about the problem of retardation and development of correct attitude towards them is another prerequisite.

In spite of all the shortcomings, a strong need is being felt currently, to start an action-oriented programme based on priority needs and available resources. With the limited resources available in our country it would be desirable to have a coordinated effort so that all possible avenues together help to curb the incidence of mental retardation. The Government agencies whether at the centre, state or local level, voluntary agencies and public at large should work concertedly in this direction.

The most logical way of considering prevention and amelioration could be by means of a cumulative programme both biomedical and social, for individual development from conception onwards in conjunction with the parental education and mobilisation of all environmental facilities.

In order to develop a national policy and a plan of action for the mentally handicapped, a group of experts was recently constituted at the initiative of Director General of Health Services and the Ministry of Social Welfare with the financial assistance of WHO. A large number of experts from varied fields like child health, psychology, psychiatry, clinical psychology, orthopaedics, eye, ENT, neurology, genetics, biochemistry, epidemiology, social work, administration, physiotherapy, special education, legislation, insurance, communication media, voluntary agencies and parental groups get together in the working meeting of the expert group from 12 to 17 November, 1979, at AIIMS, New Delhi. The week-long deliberations of this group resulted in producing a draft of recommendations for a national programme for the retarded. This draft was handed over to the D.G. of Health Services at the valedictory function of the meeting. Hopefully, some of the recommendations, if not all, would find their way in the form of implementations by the year 1981 which has been declared as the international year of the disadvantaged.

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Many-sided Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped— The need of the Day

C.P. Gupta

"I CRIED because I did not have a pair of shoes, till I met a person who did not have legs." This is what we have to think of, when we talk of the physically handicapped. Anyone could have been born with a handicap. We are saved, but we owe a great deal to those who bear the CROSS on behalf of the more fortunate section of society.

Census Report of any country would show that the number of the physically handicapped does not go beyond a negligible percentage of the total population. This does not mean that they could be ignored or neglected. They have the same rights, same aspirations as the normal able-bodied, citizens which have to be honoured. Physical handicap, therefore, has to be treated as a social problem, necessitating individualised treatment and attention. The estimated population of physically handicapped in India is of the order of 10 million blind, 3 million deaf and dumb and 6 million orthopaedically disabled. In the context of the country's population the percentage is not high but numerically 19 million people cannot be termed as insignificant.

There is a common misconception that physical handicap means 'Helplessness'. The physically handicapped by and large are not job handicapped, but have abilities which need proper recognition and opportunity for expression. In other words harnessing their capacities is very essential. There is need for developing positive attitude towards handicapped persons. Employment of the physically handicapped is not merely the problem of the person himself or of his family, but the society as well.

Rehabilitation means the fullest restoration of the individual to his physical, social, psychological and vocational abilities. Naturally, that would include the education, training and employment of the physically handicapped on the one hand and the education of the people at large on

the limitations and strengths of the handicapped on the other. Employment is but one aspect of rehabilitation.

Employment of the handicapped in selective jobs is, therefore, the responsibility of both the government and the community. In 1959, the government set up special employment exchanges for the physically handicapped and now there are 18 such exchanges in the country. There were as many as 61,924 handicapped persons registered with these exchanges as on June 30, 1979.

The necessity to provide jobs to the handicapped is often questioned as the country's economy is hard-pressed with growing unemployment especially amongst the educated and able-bodied. The need to earn a living for an able or disabled is the same. Social justice demands the fulfilment of the personal, social and economic needs of the handicapped as well. One of the greatest obstacles in rehabilitation is the existence of employers' prejudice towards the physically handicapped persons. The pace of providing jobs to these people is slow because of the reluctance on the part of the employers to engage them.

In their anxiety to assist the physically handicapped, the government has taken up several measures to facilitate their training, employment and rehabilitation. Before a person is finally absorbed, the Vocational Rehabilitation Centre conducts the evaluation of the candidates with a view to ascertaining their suitability as well as capability for a particular assignment. The aim of the Centre is to equip the person for a particular job also to enable him to obtain and sustain in that job.

Formerly, placement of the physically handicapped was based more on sympathy and depended primarily on the persuasive ability of the placement officer and the receptability of the employer. Today the position has changed. No employer can afford to have inefficient or unproductive labour. Consequently a person, whether handicapped or not, who is unable to give adequate returns for the remuneration he demands, has little chances of employment.

This means that the handicapped have to be properly trained for the job. Greater emphasis has to be placed on emotional and social rehabilitation, alongside the physical restoration. Normal institutions do accept handicapped persons as trainees and students under a well devised integrated programme.

The Government of India has also set up vocational rehabilitation centres for the physically handicapped to identify their physical, mental, social and vocational needs and to offer them comprehensive services. At present there are eleven vocational rehabilitation centres in the country located at Bombay, Hyderabad, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Jabalpur, Kanpur, Ludhiana, Trivandrum and Bangalore. The philosophy behind the working of these centres is to make the physically handicapped 'employable' as well as 'placeable'. 'Placeability' depends upon a series of factors,

one of the most important being, the employers' willingness to accept a physically handicapped person. The individual has to be assessed thoroughly before he is taken to the employer for a possible job. Vocational rehabilitation centres play an important role in this respect. These centres evaluate the social, economical and vocational needs of the physically handicapped in the context of medical assessments. Their mental capacities, interests, aptitudes and personality factors are studied. Thereafter, they are assigned work under stimulated conditions. This not only helps the evaluators in assessing their vocational suitabilities but also helps the physically handicapped persons in developing self-confidence. The ultimate aim of these centres is the vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped persons through training, self-employment or other forms of employment in suitable areas which collaborates with their residual capacities and work potentialities.

The following tables will, in a nutshell, give the intake done, evaluation conducted and placement given to the handicapped in the three important centres at Delhi, Bombay and Madras.

UPTO DECEMBER, 1979

<i>Intake by the Vocational Rehabilitation Centres</i>	<i>OH</i>	<i>D&D</i>	<i>Blind</i>	<i>Total</i>
Delhi	2664	269	502	3435
Bombay	3464	751	978	5193
Madras	1880	267	269	2416

<i>Evaluation by the Vocational Rehabilitation Centres</i>				
Delhi	2557	260	491	3308
Bombay	3077	695	912	4684
Madras	1820	253	262	2335

<i>Placement by the Vocational Rehabilitation Centres</i>				
Delhi	1361	159	83	1603
Bombay	1013	370	111	1494
Madras	1099	157	114	1370

Vocational rehabilitation centre acts as a liaison between the employers and the prospective workers. These centres also cater to employers who are interested in getting their injured workers evaluated for purposes of placement/deployment to suitable jobs.

In other words, a job is essential not only to enable the individual to be economically self-supporting, but also to assure him his rightful place in his

home and community. Opportunity to work, to earn economic independence, to gain self-confidence and social status is the need of every human being. It is economically advantageous to train them to become useful, self-supporting and contributing citizens.

The handicapped persons, if not properly employed, will be a heavier burden in the sense that while he himself is unproductive, he starts consuming the resources of the society which ultimately proves to be a serious economic and national drain. By employing them, the physically handicapped gets converted into a producer from a mere consumer.

An appeal seeking to arouse public consciousness about employing the disabled should be issued saying "Accept the handicapped with his strengths and weaknesses. His disability is not a stigma, judge him by his performance. He needs sympathy not pity—appreciation not contempt".

Normally when we talk of rehabilitation we limit the scope to training and employment. There is one area which needs immediate attention of all concerned and that is the marriage of the disabled. The physically handicapped are emotionally sound and stable and they have needs and passions like any normal person. Facilities should be provided to meet these needs through proper channels. The society needs to be educated in this context, that for marriage purposes the handicapped are equally qualified. Again we should discard the concept of marriage between two handicapped persons. The best possible thing to do would be to find an able-bodied partner for the handicapped so that he or she is supported to lead a normal life.

Successful rehabilitation of physically handicapped thus involves efforts in the following directions:

- (i) Identification of jobs which physically handicapped persons of various categories can discharge without compromising on productivity.
- (ii) Provision of adequate training opportunities to the various physically handicapped to equip them to the jobs so identified.
- (iii) Government should help by increasing its job reservation which is a mere 3 per cent. This 3 per cent covers the blind, deaf and dumb and orthopaedically handicapped. The job opportunities available now with 3 per cent reservations may not help their early rehabilitation.
- (iv) Government should come forward to give them adequate financial assistance for self-employment as well as family employment.
- (v) Socio-economic programme of the Central Social Welfare Board should be extended to the physically handicapped also.
- (vi) Maximum number of physically handicapped persons should be motivated to come to vocational rehabilitation centre for their vocational evaluation and rehabilitation.

In this context the best use of the facilities that are existing for the handicapped today and the need and importance of making use of these facilities should, be publicised through the press, the radio and television. Periodical action-oriented workshops on the problems of the handicapped should be conducted and the findings submitted to those concerned with the welfare of the handicapped.

- (vii) Special Institutions should be recommended for the orthopaedically handicapped, who are not acceptable to their families. While the ultimate goal should be their assimilation in their family, those who are not wanted by their kith and kin should be provided a respectable place for their stay.

One often finds a large number of physically handicapped specially the blind and the orthopaedically disabled dumped in beggar homes. Quite likely many of them must have been kidnapped in their childhood for begging.

It is essential that they are removed from these asylums and given an abode with facilities for their all round development, training and rehabilitation.

The residential institution for the physically handicapped as well as vocational rehabilitation centres should make use of the services of consultant psychiatrists so that problems that need deep rooted therapy could be effectively handled.

All said and done, the best possible treatment for the physically handicapped would come from the family—the Home—for which man has not yet found a substitute, therefore, our best efforts should be towards getting the handicapped accepted by their own families not as mere dependent or parasites but as respectful productive citizens of the country. □

Small Group and Social Welfare

M.K. Narain

HISTORICALLY, individuals have always been with one group or the other. It may be a family group, friends' group or any other congregation of persons. Since the groups play an important role in the individual's life, the present paper reviews the small group research and its applicability in the area of social welfare.

Sociologists and social psychologists have been concerned with the study of small groups in many spheres of human activities. As such, the concept of small group has been carefully conceptualised to prepare a guideline for any systematic enquiry in the area.

Gidding¹ explained small groups in term of elements and principles of social action and relation. Toennie² defined small groups in terms of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Cooley³ characterised small groups having face-to-face relationship and physical promixity. Weber⁴ used *Wirtschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to explain primary and secondary groups. Homans⁵ conceived small groups as a system of equilibrium, external and internal having sentiments, norms and values. Shills⁶ fathomed groups in terms of

¹F.H. Gidding, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, Macmillan, 1876.

²F. Toennie, *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, (1887) translated by C.P. Lomis, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, New York, 1940, Dukheim E. *Suicide—A Study of Sociology*, trans. by George Simpson, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.

³C.H. Cooley, *Social Organizations*, New York, 1909.

⁴Max Weber, *Essay in Sociology* (eds.) by H.H. Gerth and C. wright Mills, London. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. by T. Parsons and A.M. Anderson, New York, 1947, pp. 30-86—136-57, 324-58, 407-23.

⁵G.C. Homans, *The Human Groups*, New York, Harcourt, 1950.

⁶E.A. Shills, *The Study of Primary Group* in Dilerner and H.D. Lasswell (eds.) *The Policy Sciences—Recent Development in Scope and Method*, California, Stanford University Press, 1951.

degree of solidarity and Bales⁷ characterised groups in terms of members having face-to-face relationship and interaction among them.

Small Group research may be classified into three categories: (i) Field based studies: where the phenomena have been studied in the natural situations, (ii) Laboratory based: in which an artificial situation is created to study small groups; and (iii) Computer Simulation: it is a highly controlled situation to study small groups.

Group dynamics and its process is a considerably developed field which has unfolded many facets about group structure (membership size, role, norms and cohesiveness), leadership, decision-making, communication, problem solving, and motivation. These can be utilised in many areas to accelerate the pace of social development. A brief review of the studies is given in preceding paragraphs.

Individuals when meet and interact, show different feelings in their actions. These differences are the basis of group structure and help in establishing relationships (Cartwright and Zander 1958⁸) which gives different dimensions to group structure.

Membership⁹ has a differential factor in small groups. Some members like to dominate, while others try to associate with the power structure and some others who are knowledgeable try to emerge as tasks leaders. The size of the group differs from one group to the other and has a bearing upon the group performance¹⁰. As the size of the group increase, the extent of participation of members decreases. The larger the group, lesser is the participation in group activities and discussions. The group size has also other effects on leadership, consensus and performance.¹¹

⁷R.F. Bales, 'The Theoretical Framework for Interaction Process Analysis' in D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics*, New York, Row, Peterson and Co., 1953.

⁸D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics: op. cit.*, 1958, M.E. Shaw, 'Group Dynamics', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 1961, 12, 129-156.

⁹Cohen, A.R.E. Stotland and D.M. Wolfe, 'An Experimental of Need for Cognition', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 1955, 57 pp. 291-294, Festinger L. Schachter S. & K.W. Back, *Social Pressure in Informal Group*, New York, Harper, 1950, Aronoff J. & L.A. Masse, "Motivational Determinants of Small Group Structure", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1971, pp. 319-24.

¹⁰Simmuel George, *Conflict (and) the Web of Group Affiliations*, Glenco, Ill. Free Press, 1954, *The Sociology of George Simmuel* trans. & edited by K.H. Wofe, Glenco, Ill. Free Press, 1951, The Number of Member as Determining the Sociological form of the group, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1902-03.

¹¹Gibb, J.R., "The Effect of Group Size and of Threat Reduction upon Certainty in a Problem Solving Situation", *American Psychologist*, 1952, 47 pp. 174-87, A.P. Hare, "Interaction and Consensus in Different Size Groups. " *American Sociological Review*, 1952, 17, 261-267, Bales R.F. F.L. Strodback, T.M. and M.E. Roseborough, "Channels of Communication in Small Group", *American Sociological Review*, 1951, 16 pp. 461-68, Hamphill, J.K. "Relations between the Size of Group and Behaviour of Superior leaders", *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1950, 32 pp. 11-22, Hare, *Ibid.*, Asch S.E., "Effects

Groups having appropriate size, in due course of time develop group cohesiveness among the members. Cohesiveness¹² has been viewed as "the resultant of all the forces acting on members to remain in the group". Cohesiveness is a kind of personal relationship among the group members which 'attracts' each other or 'hangs them together'. Members of highly cohesive groups are more enthusiastic about group activities. They always like to attend group meetings and become happy and sad on positive and negative group performances. Cohesive character of group represents behaviour patterns of group members and this characteristic of the group members can be assessed through sociometric choice. The group cohesiveness has an impact on and is related to influence, productivity and satisfaction.

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¹²Festinger L., 'Informal Social Communication', *Psychological Review*, 1950, 57, pp. 271-282, Cattell, R.B., D.R., Saunders, and G.F. Stice, The Dimensions of Syntality in Small Group, *Human Relations*, 1953, 6, pp. 331-56, Cattell R.B. "Determining Syntality Dimensions as a basis for Morale and leadership Measurement in H. Guetzkow (eds.) *Group Leadership and Men*, op. cit., Banis, W.G. & H.A. Shepard, 'A Theory of Group Development', *Human Relations*, 1956, 9, pp. 415-37, Lott, A.J. and B.E. Lott. 'Group Cohesiveness, Communication Level and Conformity', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1961, 62, pp. 283-304, French J.R.P. (Jr.) 'The Disruption and Cohesion of Groups', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1941, 36, pp. 361-377, Festinger L.S. Schachter and K.W. Back, *Social Pressure in Informal Groups*. New York, Harper, 1950, K.W. Back, "Influence Through Social Communication". *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1951, pp. 46, 9-23, S. Schachter. N. Ellertson, D. McBride and D. Gregory. An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity, *Human Relations*, 1951, 4, 229-238. L. Festinger, H. Gerard. B. Hynovitch, H.H. Kelley, and B. Raven, 'The Influence Process in the Presence of Extreme Deviate', *Human Relations*, 1952, 5, pp. 327-346. E.W. Bovard 'Group Structure and Perception', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1951, 46, pp. 398-405 and "Conformity to Social Norms and Attraction to the Group. *Science* 1953, 118 pp. 598-599; Van Zelst R.H. 'Sociometrically Selected Teams Increase Production', *Personnel Psychology*, 1952, 5, pp. 175-186 and 'Validation of a Sociometric Regrouping Procedure', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1952, 47, pp. 299-301, Marquis, D.G. Guetzkow H. and R.W. Heyns. A Social Psychological Study of Decision-making Conference in H. Guetzkow (eds.) *Groups Leadership and Men*, op. cit. pp. 55-57, Exline R.V. Group Climate as a Factor in the Relevance and Accuracy of Social Perception, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1957, 15, pp. 202-206.

Role¹³ connotes the behaviour expected from a particular position. A member in a given position may have a number of roles to play, and all may be important while he has to perform a given task. The role can be an expected role, a perceived role and an enacted role. All the three roles are distinct from each other according to their connotation and this distinction increases the possibility of conflict which results in group dysfunctioning.

As members interact with other group members with the passage of time, they develop a kind of understanding among them in the form of group norms.¹⁴ These norms are established by group members themselves to regulate the behavior of other members. In other words group norms are formulated after reaching a certain level of agreement in order to maintain behaviour consistency for group action. Leadership¹⁵ is an area where a considerable amount of work has been done. Leader is one who is the focus of group behaviour and has followers around him. The

¹³Slater P.E. 'Role Differentiations in Small Groups', *American Sociological Review*, 1955, 20, pp. 300-310, E.P. Torrance, 'Some Consequences of Power Differences on Decision making in Permanent and Temporary Three-man Group', *Research Studies, Washington State College*, 1954, 22 pp. 130-140, L.M. Killian, 'The Significance of multiple-group Membership in Disaster', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1952, 57, pp. 309-314, C. Bernard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1938, B. Bass, *Leadership Psychology and Organizational Behaviour*, New York, Harper and Row, 1960, J.W. Thibaut and H.H. Kelley. *The Social Psychology of Groups*, New York, Wiley, 1959, R.F. Bales (1953) *op. cit.*

¹⁴New Comb. T.M. *Social Psychology*. New York, Holt Rinehart, and Winston, 1950, G.C. Homans *op. cit.*, W.F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago Press, 1943, Cartwright D. and A. Zander, *op. cit.*

¹⁵Carter L.F. 'On Defining Leadership' in M. Sherif and M.O. Wilson (eds.) *Group Relations at Cross Road*, New York, Harper and Row, 1953, Cattell R.B., 'New Concepts in Measuring Leadership in terms of Group Syntility', *Human Relations*, 1951, 4 pp. 161-184, R.M. Stegill, 'Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of Literature', *Journal of Psychology*, 1948, 28, pp. 35-71, Fiedler F.E. 'The Effect of Leadership and Cultural Heterogeneity on Group Performance: a Test of the Contingency Model', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 1966, 2, pp. 237-264 and *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, Shaw M.E. 'A Comparison of Two Types of Leadership in Various Communications Nets', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1955, 50 pp. 127-134. French J.R.P. (Jr.) and B. Raven 'The Basis of Social Power in D. Cartwright (ed.) *Studies in Social Power*, Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1959, pp. 150-67., J.R.P. French (Jr.) 'A Formal Theory of Social Power', *Psychological Review*, 1956, 63, pp. 181-194, Bales R.F. 'The Equilibrium Problem in Small Group' in T. Parsons, R.F. Bales and E.A. Shills (ed.), *Working Paper's in the Theory of Action*, Glenco, Free Press, 1953, pp. 111-162. D. Cartwright and A. Zander *Group Dynamics, op. cit.*, Gouldner A.W (ed.) *Studies in Leadership*, New York, Harper, 1950, Mills, T.M. 'Power Relations in Three Persons Group', *American Sociological Review*, 1953, 18, pp. 351-56, Sanford F.H., 'The Followers Role in Leadership Phenomena' in G.F. Swanson *et. al.* (eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York, Holt, 1952, Simmuel G. The Sociology of George Simmuel, H.H. Wolff (eds.) Glenco. Free Press, 1950, Stogdill R.M. 'Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A survey of literature, *ibid.* Stauffer S.A. *et al*, *The American Soldier and its Aftermath*, N.J. Princeton, University Press, 1949.

leadership characteristics include, influence upon the members, abilities like intelligence, scholarship, knowledge of getting things done, insight into situation, verbal facility and adaptability. The leader will have participation, cooperation, popularity, command, and motivational attributes. Studies in small groups have dealt with leadership style and leadership effectiveness at different situations.

Communication connotes dissemination of information within and outside the group. Communication¹⁶ is the heart of group process and arrangements of communication channels among the group members exert a powerful influence on the group. The efficient functioning of group depends upon easy and efficient communication, which includes physical arrangements and other infrastructural facilities like dictaphone, telephone, etc. The communication has an important bearing upon leadership emergence, organisational development and problem solving efficiency. Small groups are sometimes assigned a task which may vary from simple to complex problems. This variation of task characteristics is important factor in understanding the effects of communication pattern on group and its efficiency in performing a job.

Decision-making for any developmental effort by small group can be of immense importance. A decision has been viewed as 'choice among the given alternatives'.¹⁷ 'A decision ultimately is the outcome of group interaction which is inevitably a choice made by group members from among

¹⁶Shaw, M.E. 'Communication Networks' in Berkowitz (eds.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. I, New York Academic Press, 1964, pp. 111-147. A Bavelas, 'A Mathematical Model for Group Structure', *Applied Anthropology*, 1948, 7, pp. 16-30 and 'Communication Pattern of Task-oriented Groups', *Journal of Acoustical Society of America*, 1950, 22, pp. 725-30, H.J. Leavitt, and R.A.H. Muller, 'Some Effects Feedback on Communication', *Human Relations*, 1951, 4, pp. 401-410, R.F. Bales et al 'Channels of Communications in Small Group', *American Sociological Review*, 1951, 16, pp. 461-68. H.J. Leavitt, 'Some Effects of Communication Pattern of Group Performance', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1951, 46, pp. 38-50.

¹⁷Simen, H. *Administrative Behaviour: A Study of Decision-making process in Administrative, Organization*, London, Free Press, 1976. B.A. Fisher, 'Small Group Decision-Making: Communication and the Group Process', New York, McGraw-Hill, 1974, Chapter 7, A Zelnick and David Moment'. *The Dynamic of Inter-Personal Behaviour*, New York, Wiley, 1964. Bayless O.L., 'An Alternative Pattern for Problem Solving Discussion', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1967, 48, pp. 120-128, Pyke, S.W. and C.A. Neelay, 'Evaluation of a Group Training Programme', *Journal of Communication*, 20, 1970, pp. 291-304, Dewey J., *How We Think*, New York, Heath, 1910, Bales R.F. *Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups*, Cambridge, Mass, Addison-Wesley, 1950, 'Bales R.F. A Set of Categories for the Analysis of Small Group Interaction', *American Sociological Review*, 1950, 15, pp. 257-263, Bales R.F. and F.L. Strodbeck, 'Phases in Group Problem-Solving', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1951, 46, pp. 485-95, Bennis W.G. and Shepard H.A. 'A Theory of Group Development', *Human Relations*, op. cit. and Bannes W.G. and Shepard H.A. 'Group Observation, in Bannis W.G. et al (eds.) *The Planning of Change*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. Scheidel, T.M. and Crowell L., 'Idea Development in Small Discussion Groups', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 1964, 50, pp. 140-46.

the alternative proposals available to them'. A decision is never done in isolation. Effective decisions for any developmental activity are those which go through vigorous deliberations and are the result of consensus. A number of studies have been conducted in the group decision making process. In all the developmental effort, it has been noticed that only a group consisting of few concerned individuals, take active part in deliberations and decision-making for any policy or programme. Consensus in small group is very important as it is meant for democratic voting for or against a programme and sometimes consensus means unanimous agreement to a particular idea. But in all the cases, the decision or consensus has to be reached which is the prime requirement of the process. There are two approaches to the decision-making process: (i) perspective: which provides guidelines, agenda and other prerequisite for a decision, and (ii) descriptive: which attempts to get a rational decision. Apart from the above approaches, there is another approach which is called 'Spiral model' which emphasises that solving one set of problems is prerequisite for solving next set of problems¹⁸. The process of decision-making includes confirming and clarifying of the ideas. The decision consensus signifies commitment on the part of group members and their willingness to implement them.

After a decision has been reached one of the most important aspect is its implementation. Decision without implementation is a waste of effort and it carries no meaning. The natural course of a decision lies in its implementation, which is the operative aspect of implementation process. Implementation includes a number of steps such as developing a detail plan of action after identifying different steps, determining resources, individual responsibility, information system including feedback, evaluation and mobilisation of external resources.

In any developmental effort for the benefit of the community whether it is social welfare¹⁹ or any other programme there are two important aspects: (a) policy making, and (b) implementation of policies. Small groups play important role in both these aspects. When the policies/programmes are chalked out, all the persons connected, do not participate. It is the group consisting of a few persons who actually take decisions for them.

In this respect, location and identification of such viable groups at both the policy and implementation levels are crucial to deliver the goods. It may be possible that the programme implementing group is not at all interested in carrying out the programme to the people. In such a case the programme will get lost. It is just possible that a good programme may look good because right people are not identified to administer them effectively. In such situations, some of the techniques suggested by group

¹⁸Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁹Friedlander W.A. *Introduction to Social Welfare*, N. J. Englewood Cliffs, 1955, Chapter I, D. Paul Chaudhry, *Social Welfare Administration*, New Delhi, Atma Ram & Sons, 1979.

dynamics experts²⁰ can be made use of at both the levels for accelerating the implementing process and making it effective.

Groups²¹ can be categorised into two: (i) formal groups: which have legal bindings having a set of rules and regulations to adhere to, and (ii) informal groups: which do not have such bindings. The informal group sometimes becomes very powerful due to organisational environment in implementing the formal decisions.

In some cases, decisions are first made in informal groups then they are carried to the formal groups for legal sanctions. Such informal groups if can be located, it would help the implementing process to a great extent location of reponsive groups at the receiving level is also important. Group leaders²² at that level must be located and trained in skills which will influence the community dynamics and in turn achieve the implementing targets.

Small groups may seem negligible unit, but they are not so. They have vast potentialities for development endeavour in all fields including that of social welfare. What is required is imaginative and dynamic administrators who can pick-up informal groups in order to deliver the goods effectively. □

²⁰Moreno, J.L., *Who Shall Survive*, 1934, Whyte (1943) *op. cit.*

²¹Gitler, J.B., *Social Dynamics*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1952, pp. 56-58.

²²Bonner H, *Group Dynamic Principles and Application*, New York, Ronald Press, 1959. C. Sellitz and M.H. Wormer (issue eds.) 'Community Self-surveys: An Approach to Social Change', *Journal of Social Issues*, 1949, A.F. Morgan, *The Small Community*, New York, Harper & Bros, 1942, p. 281.

*The Central Social Welfare Board—An Experiment in Cooperation of Government and Voluntary Organisations for Welfare and Development of Women**

Sarala Gopalan

ON THE DAWN of independence, India inherited the structure of the colonial administration which aimed at maintenance of law and order and revenue collection. The concept of a 'welfare state' which the constitution of India put forth did not fit into this structure as it was. It called for imaginative perception of the problems of the community, and their solution, to build an agency which could deliver the services to the community without being hampered by the limitations of the administrative structure. The government at that time could not imagine the creation of a whole army of workers to explore the problems of the community and deliver the services with a personal touch, without availing the use of the infrastructure of voluntary organisations that could bridge this gap in some way. Hence, the unique experiment of a 'Central Social Welfare Board' outside the governmental framework, knitting the governmental and non-governmental resources of skill for planning and administration, manpower and finance for creating a network to deliver welfare services to women, children and other socially and physically handicapped sections of the society, in 1953.

Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh, the founder-Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, in her capacity as member in charge of social welfare in the Planning Commission, realised the impelling need for creating this

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organisation which could gather the scattered voluntary welfare agencies working in a sporadic manner in the different parts of the country, attending to limited needs of women in distress, orphans, etc. Being an ardent social worker herself, she had realised the limitations of voluntary organisations in the country in terms of finance, to cover larger needs of social development, particularly in the rural areas and among women from poorer income groups.

The First Five Year Plan recognised the need for special programmes to promote the welfare of women to enable them to fulfil their role in the family and the community by better care of their health, nutrition and education. Hence comprehensive programmes for maternal and child care had to be drawn up. Right from this time the terms 'welfare' and 'development' were used as synonyms, which can be clearly seen from an analysis of the objectives of the plans and even programmes of the voluntary organisations that took care of the needs of women. Most of them included a component of education, training, support for wage earning activities, etc. It was also accepted as a policy that social development should form an essential part of economic development and the programmes had to be such. The function of the Central Social Welfare Board was generally to assist the improvement and development of social welfare activities and in particular :

- to cause a survey to be made of the needs and requirements of social welfare organisations;
- to evaluate the programmes and projects of the aided agencies;
- to coordinate assistance extended to social welfare activities by various ministries in central and state governments;
- to promote the setting up of social welfare organisations on a voluntary basis in places where no such organisations exist; and
- to render financial aid, when necessary, to deserving organisations or institutions on terms to be prescribed by the Board.

The primary objective of the Central Social Welfare Board was to identify the needs of the community in terms of social welfare services and try to reach those services to the community through social welfare organisations, by improving the quality of the service and also expanding the coverage of the service. Based on the identification, the Board was to draw programmes for implementation through the voluntary organisations and where no voluntary organisations existed, help in the organisation and promotion of such agencies. This did not envisage complete funding of such welfare services by the government, but provided for supplementing the resources of the voluntary organisations which were built with local contribution and local participation. The ideological stress in this was on the development of a local cadre of voluntary workers through

participation in the programmes of the voluntary organisations. The Central Social Welfare Board was to give a direction to the voluntary welfare organisations in their programming and also streamline the functioning of the organisations by its association with them.

A series of state social welfare advisory boards (30 state boards) were set up in all the states to advise and aid the central social welfare board in the implementation of its various programmes. The chairmen of the state social welfare advisory boards were to be leading women social workers who were assisted by other prominent lady workers in the region and State Government officials.

The voluntary organisations were to take up the implementation of the welfare and development programmes at the grassroot levels. The Board played a very significant role in building up a series of welfare extension projects where voluntary organisations did not exist for the delivery of composite services like maternity care, health, education, training and child care services.

The Central Social Welfare Board was able to play the role of a pace setter during the first decade of its existence, when it evolved a whole series of programmes for the welfare and development of women, through the grants-in-aid schemes, establishment of welfare extension projects in rural, urban and border areas, introduction of condensed courses of education, introduction of socio-economic programmes for giving women 'work and wage'.

During the 1960s, governments at the central and state levels started taking greater interest in social welfare and increased the allocation in the Five Year Plans for social development programmes. A significant observation is that the expenditure on programmes for women and children did not increase in proportion to the total plan expenditure, though, in absolute terms, there was an increase. The government departments directly took up programmes, apart from the Central Social Welfare Board, which was the only agency earlier, for implementation of social welfare programmes. The Central Social Welfare Board consolidated the programmes it had started, particularly in the rural areas. The government established the Department of Social Welfare in 1966. In 1969 the Central Social Welfare Board which had so far not acquired a legal status was incorporated as a charitable company under the Indian Companies Act after much discussion on what the status should be.

The Central Social Welfare Board gave great importance to programmes for the welfare and development of women and children, though it was weighted slightly more in favour of women than children. The latter half of the 1970s, however, saw phenomenal increase in the expansion of the programmes for the development of women, particularly, in condensed courses, vocational training and socio-economic programmes. The government transferred the programme of aiding the establishment of creches for

remains unsolved. The options are for the state social welfare advisory boards to become:

- (a) branches of the Central Social Welfare Board, which does not seem to evoke unanimous consent from the states owing to the federal nature of the Indian Union;
- (b) to be incorporated as Statutory Boards by state legislation;
- (c) registered bodies under appropriate act.

Whatever decision emerges finally, has to be such, as to maintain the link between the Central Social Welfare Board and the state governments as is prevalent now—so as not to lose the central theme of the Board—to forge forward with a purpose and with coordination.

There seem to be a great deal of advantage for the state boards to maintain a balanced relationship between the state governments and the Central Social Welfare Board, as primarily the regions get additional resources through the Central Board over and above the allocations in the state budget for social welfare. Secondly, the state boards can partake in the national experiment and produce models for the state governments to adopt in a larger scale if they chose to. What each individual state would like to spend on, can be included in the state programmes separately. If the state boards become exclusive creatures of the state government they may lose the extra benefits they get from the Central Board by way of funds and programmes.

The Central Board and the State Government share the administrative expenditure on the establishment of the Board office. The control of the office of the state board is with the Central Board.

THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS

The non-official members on the Central Social Welfare Board were expected to perform the following functions:

- Touring the areas in her charge as frequently as possible.
- Interpreting the established policies, programmes and procedures to the state board, the project implementing committees, the project staff and to the general community in the project areas.
- To act as a liaison between the Central Social Welfare Board and the state social welfare advisory boards on the one hand and between the Central Board and the state governments on the other with a view to clearing any bottlenecks in the speedy and smooth implementation of the schemes.
- To assess the problems and difficulties of all participating agencies in the area of her charge and to report them to the Central Social Welfare Board for decision.

—To visit the institutions aided by the Board, as also the training centres (for gram sevikas, mid-wives, etc.) in their respective areas and play the same interpretative and liaison role as described above.

The non-official members of the state boards had similar functions of identification of needs of the area, coordination, supervision and guidance of the implementation of the programmes by the voluntary organisations at the state level.

The non-official members of the Central and state boards provided a very important supervisory structure and gave a wide manpower support to the implementation of the social development programmes. For their part the chairmen of the state boards and members of the central and state boards gained immense administrative and leadership abilities along with an insight into social problems. Over a quarter century the central Board and the associated state boards have afforded administrative opportunities to thousands of women leaders (roughly 5,000 women have enjoyed this states). These experiences have played an important role in equipping them to occupy greater positions of authority in various capacities including that of legislators, chairpersons of autonomous bodies, ministers and governors.

The Central Social Welfare Board started with a very slender staff support. In the first few years of its existence, its role as a multi-functional organisation was realised and experienced persons from finance, education, social welfare, planning, industry statistics, etc., were drawn to staff the Board to give shape to the programmes emerging from the experiences of the women social workers. Considering the expansion of the programmes the staff has not expanded in the same proportion, but yet a very intensively trained team of staff have emerged from this organisation over the years. The non definition of the status of the Board had greatly hampered the prospects of the staff which has been settled only recently. The problems of the staff at the state board level still remain unresolved, consequent on the unresolved status of the state social welfare advisory board. The field staff like the welfare officers and assistant project officers created by the board continue to be a very thin skeleton supplementing the non-official members of the board, in the identification and supervision of the programmes. A significant factor that has to be reckoned in evaluating this organisational set-up of the board as an experiment in development, is the low administration cost of the programme, which is estimated at around 8 per cent of the expenditure of the programmes by the board and voluntary agencies together.

At the field level the implementation of welfare extension projects was vested with project implementing committees, which in itself was a very novel experiment and in keeping with the concept of the Central and state social welfare advisory boards. The project implementing committees had

a local woman social worker as the chairman supported by half a dozen non-official women members and local officers like block development officers, etc. The project implementing committees were nominated by the state social welfare advisory boards on the sanctions of the Central Social Welfare Board.

The Project implementing committees were given staff support like accounts clerk, peons, drivers on regular scales of pay. The field staff for the project implementing committee comprised a mukhya sevika (chief organiser) mid-wife, gram sevika (village organiser) craft instructor and dai. The projects started with 2 or 4 centres, expanded upto 10 centres within each project. The welfare extension projects which implemented composite programmes for women and children covering health, education, maternity care, craft training for women, day-care centres for children were gradually transferred to voluntary organisations for implementation, while the board continued financial support up to 75 per cent for the maintenance of the staff.

The project implementing committees in turn gave a lot of opportunity for women voluntary workers who gained experience in social welfare administration and also contributed their experience in planning for the benefit of the community in the rural areas. The Central Social Welfare Board can take pride in having mobilised large number of women in rural areas to take up this responsibility role at a time when there was little incentive for women to be anything more than mere housewives. Quite often the Chairman and Members of the project implementing committees graduated as members of the state social welfare advisory boards and rose up further. In this cadre of non-official honorary social workers who have been members of the project implementing committees we may have just a few less than 5,000 women members.

The project implementing committee employed nearly 10,000 paid workers in the projects for carrying on the social development programmes, over 90 per cent of which will be women workers who have been brought into the employment stream by specialised training.

The main observation one has to make at this point, is that the non-official members did not have any opportunity for formal training in social work and whatever experience and knowledge they had, was that acquired on the job. It could be argued that if a band of trained social work organisers had taken up this task the progress may have been much greater—that now remains a hypothesis.

Many of the voluntary organisations took up training programmes as part of their activity in the initial years to create the band of trained workers required for the staff positions under the various projects. These were new experiments at that time when no regular institutions for training of these category of workers on a large scale existed.

As for the non-governmental organisations whose efforts the Central

Social Welfare Board supported, it may be mentioned, that in the quarter century of its existence, the Central Social Welfare Board had assisted over 6,000 non-governmental organisations. Some of these organisations have All India jurisdiction like All India Women's Conference, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, Young Women's Christian Association, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Indian Council for Child Welfare, etc., while a large number of them are regional or local organisations concentrating on a particular area. It has been estimated that over 3,000 organisations were developed with the nursing and encouragement from the Central Social Welfare Board. Though there are a good number of voluntary organisations which have been doing extremely well in the promotion of social welfare and development without the assistance from the Central Social Welfare Board, yet, the Board has succeeded in mobilising efforts of nearly 6,000 voluntary organisations through its assistance, which covers 73,000 members on the managing committees of these organisations coming in the category of voluntary workers. The majority of them are women as most of the organisations aided by the Board are organisations of women. The most significant factor to be reiterated here is that the entire organisational hierarchy, right from the Central Social Welfare Board, through the state social welfare advisory boards, Project Implementing Committees and Managing Committees of voluntary organisations, have mobilised a large number of women social workers, who have contributed immensely to the administration and implementation of the welfare programmes.

THE PRESENT CHALLENGES

The Central Social Welfare Board has reached a very important phase in its growth as the pivotal organisation for the welfare and development of women in this decade. The programme of condensed courses of education for adult women started in 1958 which had as its main objective the creation of a band of local workers in a short time who could take up advanced training as gram sevikas and instructors (to make up for the absence of qualified persons coming to serve in rural areas from urban regions) was given a sudden boost. The most serious realisation was that mere qualification up to the matriculation level was not adequate to make the needy women more employable. But vocational training in different fields was essential to give them technical competence. The Board introduced a programme of vocational training in 1974-75. The programme of condensed courses and vocational training received larger allocations from 1975 onwards. This scheme was a basic in-put in the elevation of the status of the rural and urban poor who could now shift from the masses of unskilled labour to skilled operators and technicians. The condensed courses, sometimes, serve as a bridge

course to enable women to attain the minimum educational level required for higher technical training. The latest decision of the Central Social Welfare Board at the last conference of the chairmen of the state social welfare advisory boards has been to intensify the implementation of the programme of condensed courses for adult women and equip them to play a role of adult educators, thus building greater linkages for social development in the community.

Very concerted effort is being made to diversify vocational training by shifting it from the traditional trade certificates for tailoring, designing, cutting, etc., to catering, photography, radio assembly, sailmaking, repairs of stoves, sewing machines, watches and a whole range of other skills which may or may not earn a certificate but definitely a skill which can help in further employment in organised units or promote self-employment.

The Board has to coordinate the requirements of a large range of services in the community for quicker pace of development and build in its training programmes a wide variety of training schemes to turn out a large army of child care workers, para-medical staff, and skilled technicians. This would be the greatest service that the Board would be doing to the swelling number of unemployed women in need of better employment, apart from building up the infrastructure in the country.

The impediments the Board has experienced in the implementation of the condensed courses and vocational training is non-availability of infrastructural organisations to undertake these courses for the needy women with the limitations of the schematic budget, etc. The dialogue carried on with some of the All India organisations are expected to open up large sectors of the community hitherto not exposed to these programmes by using the girls' schools and women's colleges with the possible staff support and guidance they can give to the implementation of this programme. The small Industries Service Institutes are being used for giving vocational training, but this needs to be pressed into greater service as also the industrial organisations, and the specialised governmental bodies dealing with development. A prudent combination of these resources should build a broader base for training the needy women in this country.

The confusion in the concepts of welfare and development with regard to the function of the Board seems to have ended now. It has more clearly emerged that the Board has to give a thrust to development apart from doling grants for some welfare activity. The government and the planning Commission have recognised this role and made increased allotments for implementing programmes under condensed courses, vocational training and socio-economic programmes. The allotment for condensed courses and vocational training have increased from Rs. 1.1 million in 1973-74 to Rs. 10 million in 1979-80. Similarly the allotment for socio-economic programmes increased from Rs. 0.25 million in 1973-74 to Rs. 15 million

in 1979-80. The basic need to give incomes to the large mass of unemployed women has to be accepted, if real development is to take place. Once the basic income is assured social development programmes like adult education or family planning become acceptable to the community and the response improves. Once incomes become available and improve for women, the nutrition standards in the families move upward. Thus the socio-economic programme of the Board can become a lever for bringing about a multiple growth in economic, social and cultural dimensions.

These emerging tasks before the Board have been greatly discussed at the Annual Conference and Regional Meetings of the Chairmen of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards and it has been unanimously agreed that priority should be given to income generating programmes.

A lot of new ground has been covered by the Central Social Welfare Board in recent times by aiding a wide range of income generating activities. The Board has been able to establish linkages with markets in a planned manner by causing the establishment of ancillary units to large manufacturing organisations in the public and private sectors. Examples of this could be the ancillary to the Hindustan Machine Tools—Watch manufacturing unit at Bangalore which is working with an investment of over Rs. 1.2 million employing nearly 100 girls. The Board had moved in this direction as early as 1961 when the first ancillary unit to the Indian Telephone Industries was started. Thereafter the rate of growth of such organisations has been very slow, but the trend has jerked up with a large series of ancillaries to electronic corporations like radio assembly units in Kerala, loud speaker assembly units in Karnatka, automobile ancillaries in Poona, leather manufacturing units in Andhra Pradesh, etc. The Board has been able to liaise with organisations like the All India Handicrafts Board and utilise their scheme of training for building up carpet weaving units for girls trained in carpet weaving in Kashmir (5 such units have been set up). Dialogues are going on with the National Small Industries Corporation for setting up waste leather manufacturing units and a series of small scale industries with the technical guidance of the National Small Scale Industries Corporation. The Board is now making an effort to obtain technical know-how and guidance from whatever quarters they are available. The collaboration with other developmental agencies, opens up very wide vistas of employment at a higher level of technology for women, who hitherto remained satisfied with some craft or handicrafts that did not promise any great potential for sustained employment or incomes to them.

The Board launched for the first time, a scheme in variation from its normal grants-in-aid procedure in 1973-74 under the dairy scheme, whereby the grant given to the voluntary organisation was disbursed as interest free loans to 5 beneficiaries for purchase of milch cattle. The organisation was to use the funds as a revolving fund to expand the beneficiaries. The

scheme has proved to be very popular and is capable of building up linkages with the 'operation flood' launched in the country and envisages a series of dairy pockets in the country. The Board is currently experimenting with another deviation of this programme. This experiment is in collaboration with a Bank which has agreed to release a larger amount of money in exchange for a Five Year Deposit in the Bank. The amount of interest accruing on the deposit will be utilised for the service of a larger loan, which the Bank will release to a larger number of beneficiaries for the purchase of milch cattle. In the instant case, against a deposit of Rs. 70,000, the Bank will release about Rs. 2,20,000 whereby 100 cows can be made available in one or two villages. Such a concentration will enable the community to go in for an intensive dairy scheme, enabling the employment of a veterinary doctor, an organiser, conveyance for the delivery of the milk to the market, etc. The other benefits like the use of cow dung for a bio-gas plant are being worked out. This kind of an area development approach is being considered by the Board within the limited framework of its income generating programme into which the other package of services that the Board aids, like child care services, social education, etc., can be built in. Well run production projects may even be able to build a welfare fund from its surpluses for the benefit of the women and their children, and provide basic amenities for them to improve their standard of life.

The new role the Board has to play in social and economic development for the benefit of women requires a great deal of strengthening of the Board by qualified staff capable of handling these responsibilities. The Board now recognises the need to strengthen its research and monitoring wing, if it must effectively survey, plan and implement the programmes in dynamic situations. An expert body has studied the administrative set-up of the Board and recommended its strengthening. The recommendations are under consideration.

Another new direction into which the Board has ventured is mobilisation of resources from nationalised banks to supplement the funds from the Board for income generating programmes, so that larger number of bigger schemes for employment of larger number of women can be taken up, increasing the pace of development in a shorter span of time. The inclusion of Banks has been admitted with the definite idea of making the units realise greater responsibility towards the project and bring in greater discipline with the help of the monitoring that the Banks will be able to do.

These measures call for greater coordination with the industries and agricultural departments and an acceptance of their profile of development, so that the assistances given by the Board form an integral part of the total development conceived for the community under various spheres of development in the economy.

In the nature of these income generating programmes the Board had suggested schemes for production of educational toys and play materials for children in the Balwadis, preparation of processed food for supplementary feeding in the Balwadis Creches so that linkages are built even within the programmes in the sphere of social welfare and development.

A large number of self-employment programmes, both in the nature of service and production are being encouraged by the Board. Suggestions for starting day-care centres by qualified persons have been made. This is only an example. Currently under consideration is a scheme of self-employment for a large number of vegetable vendors in Kerala. Andhra Pradesh has suggested self-employment for vendors at bus stations. A large number of low cost schemes of this nature will be able to employ large numbers at lower investment ratios.

A significant development in this decade of women has been the recognition of the need for creches for children of working and ailing mothers. The Government of India initiated this programme and transferred the programme to the Board for implementation. The programme is catching up very well and the Central and State Boards have been persuading organisations to take up the establishment of creches as it is a primary requirement for a working mother. All India organisations initially took up the programme but now it has caught up with local level organisations.

Launching of these ambitious development programmes calls for a network of able agencies to implement the programmes. We have necessarily to charge the concept of voluntary organisation and arrive at the concept of non-governmental organisation, so as to create a new infrastructure for this specific purpose. The project implementing committees which the Board conceived for the implementation of welfare extension projects would be a model with a difference in functions and objectives. The need for training persons to take up this new responsibility of maintaining accounts, acquiring skills of management has been initiated. This will have to be carried on more intensively as that women's organisations can achieve higher skills of management for implementing income generating programmes efficiently.

Even bigger organisations have realised that administration of social development is a skilled profession and have wanted the Board to provide training for the honorary social workers to acquire administrative abilities. These are new areas that have opened up and need conscious planning and programming by the Board.

The expression of this need of training for honorary workers has not come a day too late. With the older generation of social workers who were also freedom fighters giving place to the new generation, work experience has to be substituted by training. Secondly, the era of pilot schemes settling for more objective programme, past experiences and management

abilities have to be transferred through training for the new set of workers and organisers that are willing to take up the responsibility. It must be observed that the leadership by the Board has suffered in some measure by the neglect of this aspect of training for its members and voluntary workers. The Board is now actively engaged in working on such programmes.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the discussions in the foregoing pages it can be said that the experiment launched in 1953 for harnessing the resources of the government and voluntary organisations for welfare and development of women has proved worthwhile. This combination has provided a vast infrastructure for the delivery of services at a comparatively low cost, mobilised a massive human resource—women workers to implement the programmes, encourage participation of the local community in the process of development for the execution of the programmes.

In the context of concentrated efforts at welfare and social and economic development of women, the Board has to play a leading role and plunge into the process by not only supplementing but creating the non-governmental agencies and the manpower resources as the necessary infrastructure for ushering in *the process*. Changes in the concepts and contents are inevitable in a dynamic situation that any nation passes in the course of its development, and the capacity of an organisation to accommodate the changes is its strength. The Central Social Welfare Board seems to be able to measure up to this. □

Leadership Role of Voluntary Organisations in Social Development and Social Welfare

Durgabai Deshmukh

MOBILISATION of voluntary effort is a facet of social administration that transcends the traditional boundaries of public administration. As a function it is as old as the British rule, though the 'discipline' or the science of the public administration grew only after Independence. Community action is as old as social management of public affairs but state mobilisation of voluntary effort was begun in India mostly after Independence.

The Indian Constitution has provided for social and economic planning through democratic processes. The social services division has been incorporated along with health, education, labour, rehabilitation, public cooperation, crime and criminal administration, social welfare and employment into the organisation of the Planning Commission, which has marked the beginning of social administration in India. In 1953, the Central Social Welfare Board was created with an allocation of forty million rupees for grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations. This was a pioneering institutional arrangement which was innovated for mobilising voluntary effort by the government. In 1954, the state welfare advisory boards were created. With this the concept of mobilising voluntary effort was decentralised and further decentralisation took place in the community development and panchayati raj institutions.

Even before the government had come into the picture, the Andhra Mahila Sabha, first in Madras, and later in Hyderabad, demonstrated the immense potentialities for mobilising voluntary effort through the zeal, devotion and sincerity of thousands of workers who were not at all career-minded but dedicated to service. These I have described in two volumes

entitled. *The Stone that Speaketh* released respectively in 1979 and in 1980 January. Sri Prabhudas Balubhai Patwari, the Governor of Tamil Nadu, 1979, has, in his foreword to the Book, written as follows:

The Story of stones is in a true sense the Gita and Bible of Social Service. Every one interested in public service will be inspired by reading it as it will inculcate in the mind of the worker confidence, courage, spirit of adventure and integrity. I would wish the Central Social Welfare Board to see that this unique book is translated through all State Boards in their regional languages and given widest circulation. No library can afford to miss this touch stone.

The Andhra Mahila Sabha and the Central Social Welfare Board demonstrate the potentialities for the mobilisation of voluntary effort by dedicated workers as well as sincere and imaginative leaders. The Council for Social Development established in 1964 is engaged in the promotion of research and training in social administration. It publishes a Journal called *Social Change*.

Practice refines theory and theory reacts to practice in any growing sphere of knowledge. Social administration is no exception. This is not all. The Council has also formulated a draft resolution on social policy and recommended to the government for adoption with suitable modifications. The government has a population policy, an education policy, health policy, housing policy, and child welfare policy but there is no comprehensive social policy. The social development movement in India and abroad has come to prominence because of the pioneering efforts of the social workers.

However laudable these intellectual exercises may be, the pioneering efforts and the millions of rupees invested in them constitute only a few drops in a bucket that are likely to evaporate in the scorching heat of tropical countries. Unless the efforts and movements are sustained by an awakening of the people, mobilisation of the community through country wide voluntary organisations these efforts may not show much results. We have seen from experience during the last three decades that 'Rashtra Shakti' or government action by itself could not achieve much, unless it was supported by 'Lok Shakti' or 'Jan Shakti'. What India needs today is a revolution in the wake of the renaissance movement led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Veeresa Lingam Pantulu and others. Mahatma Gandhi has, through his satyagraha movement, awakened the people fight for independence but his 'disciples' who came later to occupy seats of power distorted the movement for purposes of destruction rather than applying it for constructive activities.

We are currently witnessing the deterioration in the standards of the conduct of public affairs. This is happening notwithstanding the innu-

merable training and research institutions in public administration, management, technology, public cooperation, schools of social work, university departments in political science, sociology, economics and so on. Why is it that we have not been able to mobilise public cooperation to the desired extent for developmental activities? Questions like these deserve to be enquired into and investigated. From common sense one can see that the public and economic administration seem to be lacking the capacity to manage social tensions. The social responsibility of professions and business seems to be diminishing. Competition in profit making and career-building are governing the mind and conduct of intellectuals and leaders. If this is to be arrested or ameliorated, it appears necessary to heighten the social awareness of the people and social responsibility of leaders in all walks of life. This could be done more by personal example than by training course. This is not for belittling the usefulness of or need for training courses. The courses impart skills, they do not create the will to set standards in the management of public affairs. The will could be generated only by the personal example of leaders in all walks of life. Sri Prabhu Dasji Patwari has said in his foreword to the book *'The Stone that Speaketh'*:

The Goddess Saraswati and Lakshmi who do not normally go together, rarely joined hands to help Andhra Mahila Sabha to grow into a mighty organisation.

Lakshmi is bound to smile on those who work hard with dedication—and do not develop any vested interest in what 'Lakshmi' has brought to them. What is lacking is confidence that charity given is not misused. Social service organisations should develop a sense of detachment in respect of assets built up by them for public purposes. Social service organisations should learn to stand firm on principles and should be prepared to give up to government what they have built if the government have no time to understand the principle involved or does not appreciate the stand which social service organisations take on such issues. This is indeed difficult to cultivate but our devotion to social service organisations should not make us blind to the need for sacrifice of vested interest for principles. Several organisations have built up huge structures, many of them are lying unused for the purposes for which they were built. Many of them have developed cracks. It is not 'funds' which is most essential, what is needed is honest devoted workers. Constitution, finance and administration are equally important factors which determine the progress of any institution. High principles of service must be retained by men and women with a zeal for service, empathy for the needy, suffering and deserving but less fortunate people. These workers need to work in the areas of welfare. There is a belief that untrained

social workers consider managerial positions in voluntary organisations as spring boards for politics or as time-killing social occupations or as status symbols. Some even consider their demand for transport or telephone facilities for fulfilling their functional roles as backdoor demands for perquisites. Those who hold these views do not have any idea of the time, energy and skill these 'workers' offer for mobilising public response to government's development efforts or to social causes. Beyond doubt the experience all over the world is that non-officials could communicate to people with greater understanding and conviction than officials. If governments were to undertake the activities that non-officials perform, the former would not only be unable to do half as well but it would also cost them far more. There would also be less opportunities for innovations and experimentation which only non-official village organisations can do.

About what the Planning Commission and governments have done for social administration during the last three decades, the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission Dr. Lakdawala wrote in *Yojana* 1978 (Independence Issue):

However, the field of Planning of social services has been almost entirely neglected. Question of the broad framework within which such social planning is done, the inter-relationships of investments in such fields with the national Plan, the methods of public choices in the field, relationship between private and public choices and also the relationship between planning issues and the socio-technical aspects of the problems within each sector have by and large been unexplored. Even in terms of first principles, very little has been said.

This is an extreme view, but undoubtedly there is some truth in it.

The planning of social services has been neglected and when this is true how could social administration be diligent? Way back in 1964 the Council for Social Development in cooperation with the India International Centre sponsored and held an international Seminar on Social Administration in developing countries. The Central Social Welfare Board was specifically charged with the responsibility to promote, assist and coordinate voluntary effort and social administration in government. The government set-up the Department of Social Welfare and created Ministry of Social Welfare. This made the Central Social Welfare Board which was autonomous in its functioning dependent upon the government departments. There is absolutely neither coordination nor understanding between the department of the government and Central Social Welfare Board and its counterparts in the states known as the state social welfare boards. The need of the day is a review and reflection about the status of social administration and voluntary effort in social development because we on the one hand seem to be drifting away from our goals and on the other every-

where people are fast losing faith in the credibility of government as well as leaders.

The role of voluntary effort in social welfare can be grasped only when we clearly understand the two-fold aspects of well-being. What happiness is for the individual, welfare is for the community. It is the goal of human endeavours, relationships, knowledge and technology. In this the individual, the family, the community, the state and the international agencies must work together for peace, prosperity and progress.

There is, however, another aspect of welfare. This is related to the provision of institutional or other opportunities for those who suffer from individual or socio-economic disabilities or handicaps. In this sphere the role of the state is to pass laws, provide machinery for care, cure and rehabilitation as well as to assist financially voluntary organisations engaged in such activities as the agents of the State. It is more economical for the state to aid voluntary welfare organisations rather than start them on their own because workers in voluntary organisations provide an element of human warmth and sympathy which is not easy to get otherwise.

Social administration in India has suffered from neglect and deficiencies mentioned by Dr. Lakdawala and others because voluntary organisations were viewed with distrust and high expectations were entertained about the results from them. The latter could not be wholly fulfilled because of several fiscal policies, taxation measures and inflationary pressures. Nevertheless the voluntary sector in welfare has the capacity to contribute more than the bureaucratic sector provided trust and freedom to experiment are allowed to the social workers with vision and vigilance. The social workers constitute power-breakers to the competing persons in political sphere. Vigilant social workers with vision seem to hold the hope for better future in social development and social welfare. □

Central Social Welfare Board: Its Structure and Functions

R.B. Puri

THE social growth of our nation is closely linked with our ability to create appropriate institutions that can serve the purpose for which they are made. Many academics and practitioners of Indian administration have often expressed concern about the leadership and effective administration of institutions. In pursuit of improving the quality of managerial efforts, we find techniques and approaches to better administration. It is commonly believed that every administrative organisation should have in-built capacity to adapt itself to changing environments.

Social Welfare programmes are an integral part of planned development in India, for which the country increasingly depends on organisations engaged in accelerating the social welfare activities. In this direction, the Government of India set up the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953, by a resolution of the then Ministry of Education, with the following purposes: (i) to survey the needs and requirements of welfare organisations; (ii) to evaluate the programmes and projects of the aided agencies, (iii) to coordinate the assistance given by various central ministries/departments/state governments, (iv) to promote setting up of voluntary welfare institutions where such organisations do not exist; and (v) to render financial assistance to deserving organisations.

OBJECTIVES AND COMPOSITION

The Board was registered as a charitable company under the Indian Companies Act 1956, with effect from April 1, 1969. The objectives envisaged for the Board have been enshrined in the Memorandum and Articles of Association as a Company. The main objectives outlined in the Memorandum of Association are:

—to study the needs and requirements of social welfare organisations

- from time to time through surveys, research and evaluation in such manner as may be considered necessary;
- to evaluate the programmes and projects of the aided agencies;
- to coordinate assistance extended to social welfare activities by various ministries in central and state governments in the programmes entrusted to the Central Social Welfare Board;
- to promote the setting up of social welfare organisations on a voluntary basis in places where no such organisations exist and to promote additional organisations wherever necessary;
- to render technical and financial aid, when necessary to deserving institutions or organisations including panchyati raj institutions in accordance with the schemes/principles approved by the Government of India;
- to promote social welfare activities intended for the general welfare of the public such as welfare of the family, women, children and the handicapped and assistance in cases of unemployment, under employment, old age, sickness, disablement, etc.
- to organise or promote programmes of training in social work as and when required and also to organise and work on pilot projects whenever necessary; and
- to organise through its machinery emergency relief in cases of calamity, national natural or otherwise, whenever seemed fit or necessary.

The Board has a general body consisting of 44 members which includes representatives nominated by the state governments, social scientists, representatives from the Ministries of Finance, Health, Community Development, Education and Social Welfare and one member from the Rajya Sabha. The general body meets every year at which time the Annual Report of the Board and the Audited Accounts of the Board are presented. The administration of the affairs of the Board vests with the executive committee, which consists of the Chairman of the CSWB, 4 representatives from the Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Finance, Department of Community Development (now Rural Development) Ministry of Health and 6 other members from the General Body. This executive committee meets about once in two months and is the main policy making body for the Board.

Soon after the Central Social Welfare Board was established, the need to have organisations at the state level to implement the programmes of the Board, was felt and the state social welfare advisory board were brought into existence in 1954. This has been a unique venture because it brought about the involvement of the state government and representatives of the concerned state government departments placed in each state board. The state governments share 50 per cent of the establishment

expenditure of the State Boards. Now there are 30 State Social Welfare Advisory Boards in all the states and union territories (except Dadra, Nagar Haveli where the programmes are looked after by the Gujarat State Board).

Alongwith the evolution and introduction of various welfare programmes, the Board has brought into existence a field level machinery for ensuring proper utilisation of funds and for providing guidance to the grant receiving institutions for the proper working of the projects and programmes. The question of adequate supervision of the activities and accountability and utilisation of funds by grantee institutions are important, therefore 48 welfare officers and 20 assistant project officers are attached to various state social welfare advisory boards.

The Central Social Welfare Boards derives its funds from the Government of India, and the allocation for the various programmes as well as non-plan expenditure of the Board are included in the budget of the Department of Social Welfare of the Government of India. Over the years, there has been a significant increase in the total expenditure on the programmes of the Board, ranging from Rs. 309 lakhs in 1971-72 to Rs. 650 lakhs in the year 1978-79.

ORGANISATIONAL SET-UP

The Central Social Welfare Board is headed by a chairman, who does not belong to civil service, but is known for the contribution in the field of social welfare services. The chairman is assisted by the secretary who is of the rank of deputy secretary or director in the Government of India. The secretary functions with the help of divisions. There is a public relations officer to look after the liaison work.

Socio-Economic Programme Division

The socio-economic programmes are meant to provide opportunities to needy women and the physically handicapped to engage themselves in production activities and thus to enable them to become economically rehabilitated. Under this programme grants are sanctioned to voluntary organisations for setting up various types of units such as; (i) production units of small industries; (ii) units as ancillary to large industries; (iii) handicrafts units; (iv) coir spinning and weaving units; (v) handloom units; (vi) khadi and village industries units; and (vii) service oriented units; (viii) self-employment units; (ix) agrobased units such as dairy, piggery, goat rearing, sheep breeding and poultry.

The applications from voluntary institutions are considered by the state social welfare advisory boards which are forwarded to the Central Social Welfare Board with their recommendations.

This Division deals mainly with matters such as: (i) examination of

applications of institutions with reference to their eligibility for grants, (ii) release of the grants to the institutions/state boards; (iii) finalisation and acceptance of the audited statements of accounts; (iv) examination of the inspection reports received from welfare officers and assistant project officers; (v) preparation of annual budget estimates and formulation of proposals for annual plan and five-year plan; (vi) attending to all matters concerning questions in Parliament; and (vii) maintaining liaison with Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Industries, Khadi Commission and the concerned state governments.

The Division is headed by two programme officers who are directly responsible to the secretary. The states and general subjects are divided among the two divisional heads.

Condensed Courses Division

The Condensed Courses Programme is meant to enable the adult women in the group of 18 to 30 years to get education and privately appear for middle school or high school examinations conducted by the Secondary Board of Education. Under this programme, the applications of the voluntary institutions are considered by the state boards and later forwarded to the Central Social Welfare Board alongwith the recommendations.

In respect of these programmes, this Division deals with the scrutiny of applications of voluntary institutions recommended by the state board and processing them for sanction of grants, examination of the progress reports furnished by the grant receiving institutions, and examination of inspection reports of welfare officers, examination of statement of accounts and utilisation certificates furnished by the state board, and preparation of annual budget estimates pertaining to these programmes.

Project Division

This Division is concerned with the family and child welfare programme, nutrition programme, creches for children of working mothers, and working women hostels. Of the above programmes, the nutrition programme and creches for children of working mothers are the programmes of the Department of Social Welfare, which are implemented by the Central Social Welfare Board. The family and child welfare projects have been handed over to the state governments.

The major functions of this Division include planning and implementation of the above mentioned programmes according to financial allocations made for each programmes, examination of the applications/proposals received from voluntary institutions/state boards and finalisation of the cases for sanction of grants, obtaining and examining the audited statements of accounts and utilisation certificates from the grantee institutions and state boards, compilation of statistical information/statements as required

by the secretary for the executive committee and general body meetings of the board, preparation of the budget for these programmes for the ensuing year, maintaining liaison with the outside concerned organisations, and examination of inspection reports received from the field inspection machinery for taking necessary action.

Field Counselling and Inspectorate Division

Inspection of the working of the institutions engaged in the execution of various sponsored and aided programmes should be an essential part of the administration of the Central Social Welfare Board. Identification of problems and difficulties at the implementation level requires thorough inspection so as to ensure the proper utilisation of the financial and manpower resources ensuring the benefits to percolate to the people for whom they are meant. Periodical examination and evaluation of the functioning of the grant receiving agencies is also essential for obtaining feedback for purposes of re-designing the policies of bringing change/innovation in the implementation of existing programmes. It is also important that the aided institutions be provided with adequate counselling so as to help them in sharpening their managerial and technical skills and in organising their activities in a manner suitable for increased results.

This Division of the Central Social Welfare Board was set up in November 1969. This Division is concerned with the receiving of inspection reports from the welfare officers and forwarding them to the concerned divisional heads for further action, reviewing the coverage of inspection of project/institution, preparation of Guide Book and reference material for the welfare officers, examination of new programmes or notes on technical subjects received from the Department of Social Welfare or other agencies, and verification of T.A. bills of welfare officers as and when required by the Finance and Accounts Division.

Grants Division

The Grants Division concerns itself with plan period grants, one-year grants, grants for mahila mandals, and grants for holiday camps. This Division performs the functions such as consideration of applications from voluntary welfare institutions as recommended by the state boards, putting these cases for chairman's sanction, conveying sanctions to the respective institutions, ensuring proper utilisation of funds released for decentralised programmes by verification of authenticated lists of sanctions received from the state boards, and correspondence with the state boards and the institutions relating to the decentralised programmes of the Division.

Finance and Accounts Division and Internal Check Division

These two Divisions functioning separately have now been merged. The Internal Finance Adviser-cum-Chief Accounts Officer is in-charge of this

Division. The functions of this Division are to ensure proper maintenance of accounts of the Board as required by general financial rules and commercial system of accounting, to make budget, release of funds to its establishments, obtain figures of expenditure incurred by the state boards under various programmes, to keep watch on the final settlement of accounts in respect of various programmes and to attend to various other financial matters.

Publication Division

This Division is concerned with the publication and circulation of two magazines, i.e., (i) Social Welfare (English), and (ii) Samaj Kalyan (Hindi). These publications are meant to acquaint the people with the Central Social Welfare Board and its programmes, so that their cooperation may be harnessed in the execution of its policies and programmes. The role of these magazines extends to enlighten the people about the existing social conditions of the country. The Division consists of two editors who are directly responsible to the secretary of the Board.

The Division is concerned with the scanning of the articles received, organising special issue of the magazine on specified subject matter, and submitting estimates regarding the expenditure and getting them approved.

Administration Division

The administration Division is meant to manage, supervise or administer a variety of personnel functions, such as recruitment, placement, transfers and dismissals, and service functions such as mail, files, record management and maintenance of property, transportation, space control, procurement and supply.

Administration Section (State Board)

The Administration Section (State Board) deals with matters pertaining to state boards and maintenance of data regarding vehicles (other than at the headquarter) their repairs and disposals.

The head of this section is known as Inspecting Officer who is directly responsible to the secretary. The main functions of this section are: to deal all cases in respect of personnel matters such as appointments, promotion and service benefits of the staff employed at the staff boards; and matters pertaining to the purchase of specific equipments for the state boards.

Research, Evaluation and Statistical Division

This Division is headed by a research officer who is directly responsible to the secretary. The Division is expected to deal with analysis and preparation of various statistical tables/charts with descriptive or expla-

natory notes, compilation of directory of the voluntary agencies in India, and publication of documents/reports on specified subjects on the basis of collected information.

This Division has published certain useful documents such as: (1) The Central Social Welfare Board and its Programme—A Brief Analysis (Revised), (2) State Social Welfare Advisory Boards—A Study, (3) Orphanages in India—A Study, and (4) Voluntary Organisations for the Handicapped—A Study. It has also published exhaustive directories of social welfare agencies in India.

Coordination Section

Coordination Section is headed by a superintendent who is directly responsible to the secretary. The Section deals with the collection of written material for the preparation of agenda of the general body, executive committee of the Board, and such other data for furnishing replies to questions raised in Parliament.

Hindi Unit

Hindi unit is under the charge of an officer who is directly responsible to the secretary. This unit is concerned with receiving selected letters, circulars in Hindi and translating them into English so as to enable the concerned officer to know the contents of such a document.

Public Relations Officer

Public Relations Officer is supposed to perform functions such as acquainting the outside persons or agencies with the various programmes of the Board.

ORGANISATIONAL ISSUES

During the last few years, the Central Social Welfare Board had difficulty in keeping pace with the increasing demands placed on it. Many of the administrative problems of the Board could be attributed to its organisational structure and personnel system.

The Board is a registered company, but its administrative practices have been modelled on the pattern of the government and its procedures are the same as in other government departments. The Board follows the general financial rules, fundamental rules, supplementary rules and recruitment rules as are applicable to other government departments. In fact, it virtually functions as any other government department. More emphasis is placed on routine affairs, rules, regulations and precedents. In such a structure, the tasks related to planning for future policy or programmes cannot receive the attention they deserve.

The administration in the Board is characterised by a system of fairly

rigid hierarchy. Authority is necessary to unify and coordinate diverse organisational participants, activities and units as it enhances consistency and speed in decision making and helps in allocating responsibility and in fixing accountability. In short, it is a requirement for the orderly and efficient functioning of a complex system. But the excessive centralisation of authority and decision making, as it exists at the level of the Chairman and the secretary of the Board, would retard the speedy discharge of functions. In case, if the work they perform, is done at a level or two below and the day-to-day operational problems of administration do not take much of their time, then policy issues or matters concerning promotion or development of basic institutional performance can receive their better attention. The work of the secretary is characterised by a substantial weight and range of complexities and problems presented by various outside environmental factors and internal organisational elements. The secretary is responsible for the successful accomplishment of the objectives of the Board.

The secretary assigns work to all the division heads, supervises their operations for timely accomplishment of work schedules; relays and interprets policies, procedures and instructions from the Chairman/Executive Committee; and keeps himself informed of the current status of work in progress in the Board and periodically channelises such information to the Chairman for onward transmission to the Executive Committee/General Body as and when required. The Secretary has to review the correctness of recommendations made by the officials from the stand point of governing policies, procedures, regulations and accepted principles and practices of administration. The secretary has to ensure coordination between the Divisions, give guidance concerning various problems faced by the heads of divisions, and rate their performance in the annual confidential reports. The secretary is required to advise the officials about the changes in governing policies, procedures, regulations as and when they arise. The administrative leadership at the level of the secretary requires him to ensure reasonable quantity and quality of work produced by the functionaries under his charge in the Board, and in giving necessary instructions in work methods and techniques.

Centralisation of authority, by and large, reduces the commitment of those who have less obligation for shaping the decisions reached by the top administration in the organisation, as their incentives for creativity in problem solving is reduced. The organisation literature offers prescriptions for minimising disadvantages of hierarchy, centralisation—such as participative decision-making and expressive supervision. These techniques can, if not eliminate, at least minimise problems, but when employed in the context of Indian administration, they create tensions in turn. The point in brief is that hierarchical arrangements, whether rigid or flexible, are necessary and will, by their very nature, generate problems. In the

organisation, where the policy is fluid, there tends to be greater centralisation. It is true that too much of accountability serves as deterrent to decentralisation. If the programmes of the organisation require enlisting of popular support or participation, then there has to be a greater need for decentralisation.

Administrative conditions in every organisation give rise to interdependence of employees in work situations. Since the behaviour of any part of the system has consequence for other parts, a high degree of interdependence combined with a high degree of specialisation, tends to generate contradictory pressures, and thus the conflicts among and between the role partners are to be expected. The need for inter-dependence among various Divisions in the Board, is to be realised and in fact there should not be lack of recognisable and specific goals that the administration or its various parts can share. There is little inter-change between the divisions in Board, even when the decision of one impinges upon the task of other. Each Division helps the other with the intervention of the Secretary and that too largely on the basis of written communication.

System of receiving and giving information is an important aspect in the understanding of organisational functioning. Individuals act and organisations function on the basis of information that they receive. Employees need information to make decisions and correct errors, and for giving and receiving directions. Information is thus a key factor in the understanding of behaviour pattern in organisation. As a matter of fact, organisational structure should provide adequate mechanism for getting information from each other. The available information should be complete and each division should interpret and deal with information so as to serve the organisation as a whole. A curious practice prevails in regard to the accountability of welfare officers posted in the field. These officers receive operational instructions from three different sources. They are subject to the control and supervision of the chairman of the state board in respect of their day-to-day work and tour programme, but for inspection reports they are answerable to a programme officer of the Division at the headquarter, while their appointment, placement, promotion, transfers, etc., are done by the secretary/chairman of Central Social Welfare Board. Tolerance of inefficiency is bound to be of a higher degree in a system where there is such a fragmentation of tasks and responsibilities.

The policies and programmes of the Central Social Welfare Board require popular support and participation, and for this purpose, the State Boards, have been constituted. As a matter of practice, fifty per cent of the members of the state boards are nominated with the concurrence of the chairman of the Central Board. It has been observed that these members were often replaced with the change in the state government.

Optimum utilisation of resources in the Board requires that the criteria for sanction of grants to various agencies be strictly followed in

all cases. Besides that the appropriate action needs to be taken on the inspection reports submitted by the welfare officers about the performance of aided agencies, and about information concerning proper utilisation of grants given to various institutions. The Board depends largely on the information submitted by officials at the state board. In the absence of adequate inspection visits by the headquarters officials, a wide distance between the decision-maker at the Central Board and their personal knowledge of the field situation is bound to dilute the quality of decisions and administrative performance.

There is need to have a reliable built-in-system for obtaining feedback from the field level machinery about the performance of the aided voluntary institutions. The Board needs a sound mechanism for collecting and processing meaningful data which can be useful for policy making. There is need for a sound system of evaluation and monitoring for assessing the public response about various social welfare programmes.

CONCLUSION

The administrative set-up of the Central Social Welfare Board does not seem to be conducive to efficiency and speedy discharge of work. The organisational structure, as it exists today produces many organisational problems and drawbacks in the implementation of programmes. Thus, there is need to evolve a new administrative system for the Board. A feasible administrative model needs to be evolved by taking the following important points into consideration:

- Too much of existing centralisation of authority is to be avoided and adequate delegation of powers is to be made for quick and effective decision-making.
- Adequate and clear description of major duties and responsibilities at the middle management level is to be made so as to avoid duplication of efforts.
- A sound system of reporting, monitoring with an inbuilt system of feed back is to be developed.
- For achieving maximum co-ordination, and results various programmes must be regrouped for administrative purposes.
- Well defined and purposeful financial procedures must be developed for rational control over the utilisation of material resources.
- Greater and effective control should be exercised over the administration of the state boards.

□

Social Mobilisation for Agrarian Restructuring —A Note

Kamal Nayan Kabra

A LARGE number of studies¹ are coming round to the view that it is not possible for the legal-administrative processes to dispossess the landowning classes of their sizeable surplus lands to any appreciable extent with a view to their redistribution, mainly, if not exclusively, on account of the undisturbed and growing concentration of power (in all its myriad ramifications) in the hands of the landowning classes through consciously pursued policies like those entailed in the so-called green revolution strategy of agricultural growth. Such a growing concentration of power results in strengthened dependence of the rural poor on the landowning classes who tighten grip on labour, finance and commodity markets. An associated outcome, whether through existing politico-administrative process, or through new, well-meaning but misconceived arrangements, like the Indian Scheme of democratic decentralisation through Panchayati Raj institutions,² is the near total perversion of the political processes witnessed in the dichotomy between the stated and real objectives.

In the face of such a strong congruence of economic and political factors working to produce results quite contrary to agrarian restructuring in the direction of greater equity, it was difficult to visualise that the rural poor could have mobilised themselves on the basis of their numerical strength in an adult-franchise based competitive parliamentary politics which at the same time was deriving its legitimacy from its essential

¹Kamal Nayan Kabra, "Land Reforms and Industrialisation: Some Institutional Linkages and their Implications." A Working Paper of the Public Policy and Planning Division, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1979, and further references contained therein.

²F.R. Frankel, *India's Political Economy 1947-77, The Gradual Revolution*, OUP, Delhi, 1978, pp. 199-200.

capability to enhance the cause of the poor rural masses. It was not realised that, apart from any other factor, the dependence forced on the rural poor in the course of their "social existence form of labour power"³ puts limitations on their capacity for political mobilisation and intervention (e.g., through organisations of the poor peasants and farm labour, through political parties and/or trade unions).⁴

It is the contention of the short Note that the inability to arrive at the realisation of the abovementioned factors arose, among other factors, from inadequate attention which was given to the question of the concept, role, preconditions and *modus operandi* of political and social mobilisation in agrarian restructuring.

In the first part of the Note, some conceptual aspects of social mobilisation are discussed. In the following part, some preconditions for mobilisation in a country like India are discussed. Though the discussion is at a fairly abstract level and in the form of generalities (because problems of social mobilisation are essentially *historical* problems requiring an intimate understanding of the concrete, empirical details in any given historical situation—tasks beyond the scope of a note or a research paper), its general relevance to contexts similar to India can be,—it is hoped, perceived in a general way without much difficulty. The discussion also highlights the inter-sectoral and economy-wide implications of mobilisation of rural poor as also the linkages of agrarian policies with the overall planning and development policies and processes.

I

Though mobilisation does not often appear as a distinct conceptual category, despite many different contexts with which it is associated, as an empirical phenomena it is taken note of and analysed fairly extensively in social sciences.⁵ As pointed out by Hattne and Tamm, the phenomenon of mobilisation is often presented by many different names like social movements, popular or people's participation, community development, social conflict and revolution.⁶ It is close to phenomena generally described by such terms as political development, class conflict or struggle, democratisation, social change modernisation, etc. The wide canvass of the empirical phenomena and the variety of names given to them essentially

³The expression is from H.K. Takalashi, *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism: A Symposium*, (ed.), M. Dobb, Calcutta, 1957.

⁴This is so despite the long history of the existence of leftist political parties and their strivings for organising the peasants and workers.

⁵For a quick survey of the works on mobilisation, see B. Hattne, and G. Tamm, *Mobilisation and Development in India: A Case Study of Mysore State*, Swedish International Development Authority, Stockholm, 1974, particularly Chapter I, pp. 7-13. The present note derives a number of its propositions from this work.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

refer to those processes of societal change and development in which the newly emergent social groups requiring improved and/or dominant position themselves played crucial catalytic and participative roles. Considering the wide range of empirical phenomena which are sought to be captured by the term mobilisation, one may rightly expect the term to be somewhat nebulous and cutting across many frontiers.

Mobilisation is a normative process in so far as it signifies efforts towards changing social structures, processes, relationship, etc., in some ways considered desirable by those who undertake and spearhead the process of mobilisation. As mobilisation entails change, it may well challenge and usurp the positions and privileges of certain sections. It involves "entry" and 'exit' from the centre of social processes. Hence it is not only normative in the sense of being considered desirable, but is also disliked and resisted by certain other groups. It is not unlikely then that the term acquires some emotive overtones.

As mobilisation involves articulation, participation and involvement in social change by its partisans, it is without a counterpart in micro or individual behaviour. It is a macro process involving the society as a whole with its active protagonists and antagonists forming separate groups with varying degrees of distinct identifiability.

Insofar as mobilisation is intended to be a certain kind of drive for change, it has a clear tendenz inimical to *status quo*. However, it may mean either a movement, i.e., a striving for bringing about change through non-official, voluntary organisation mainly rooted in economy, polity and society or in a heuristic sense, or an orderly, officially sponsored process of change through directly and actively participative involvement of likely or intended beneficiaries. It is not unlikely that there are periods when the protagonists of mobilisation are more or less an entire society say, e.g., fighting accumulated backlog of backwardness or challenging the power and position of aliens in some ethnic-political sense.

Mobilisation may refer to some social movements which are trying to reform the society from within through raising and/or altering the levels and contents of social consciousness and behaviour patterns in response to many diverse kind of challenges. As opposed to such endogenous, either elite-sponsored or broader-based mobilisation campaigns, there are some mobilisations associated with global movements. In the context of the growing shrinkage of the world, such exogenously-originating movements are not only too important to be ignored but they so enmesh, with endogenous factors that any operational and meaningful demarcation between internal and external factors becomes highly *suspect*.

Though the concept of mobilisation has close resemblance with the concept and theory of class-struggle, it is in some respects wider, though at the cost of being vague, than the latter because it does not define the contending groups. While the open-ended character of the concept of mobi-

lisation increases the latitude available to social analysts, it also makes it susceptible to both attenuation and, even distortion. Social mobilisation may be for class, or, in the absence of a better term what may be called 'mass' issues and the character, processes, outcomes, etc., would differ according to whether it refers to the former or the latter kind of issues.

Similarly, social mobilisation may be spearheaded by a discontented or disadvantaged group—(a frequently encountered situation in a dynamic as well as a relatively stable or stagnant context) as well as by a group or class consciously endeavouring to either further its own position in terms of control over social resources or to displace some other groups, strata, or classes from their relativelyantage positions.⁷ Frequently, mobilisation is likely to combine elements of all these types of motivations. Depending on the complex of such motivational atiology, mobilisation processes would tend to concern themselves with structural changes, (basic changes) or incremental modifications of on-going processes, their outcomes or their operational rules or a complex combination of many of the above, depending on the strategic-tactical perspective underlying mobilisation.

In this context, it may well be asked if rural and agricultural extension—an element generally considered very vital for raising agricultural productivity—may also be considered to be a specific species of mobilisation. If extension is taken to be concerned with transmission of knowledge and skills bringing about attitudinal changes through effective communication and successful precepts for facilitating technology transfer from countries with high agricultural productivity or R & D establishments to a backward agriculture, extension is reduced to a technocratic, salesmanship exercise.⁸ In this sense, it would need considerable terminological latitude to regard extension a species of social mobilisation.

On the contrary, if it is realised that extension is not a matter of "simple manipulative tricks" but is a matter of motivation involving "a complete change of behaviour"⁹ so that "peasant distrust is effectively channelled"¹⁰, that is when extension is taken to involve "motivation and mobilisation of peasants—carried out in a spirit of confrontation or struggle against those forces which have until now done everything to keep the peasants

⁷Cf. "Mobilisation refers to the processes by which a discontented group assembles and invests resources for the pursuit of group goals". A. Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements*, pp. 28-29. N.J. Englewood Cliffs, 1973, pp. 28-29, quoted in Hattne and Tamm. *op. cit.*

⁸E.M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, The Free Press, N.Y., 1962.

⁹Herbert Kotter, "Aspects of Farm Motivation and Participation in Programme Planning and Implementation," International Seminar, *Extension and other Services Supporting the Small Farmer in Asia* by Cermen Foundation for Developing Countries, 1972, quoted by G. Huizer, in *Rural Extension and Peasant Motivation in IJPA*, January-March, 1979, p. 4.

¹⁰G. "Huizer, *op. cit.*, p. 4. He clearly says "Rural Extension is an Essential Element of Overall Popular Mobilisation for Development and Production," p. 13.

dependant",¹¹ it is obvious that rural and agricultural extension is, by and large, another name for a specific kind of social mobilisation.

The tenor of the formulations presented above may give an impression that mobilisation processes pertain to the disposed and disadvantaged and worse-off sections. Only who have to face some structural, institutional rigidities and obstacles on the way to their greater control over social resources and power. This would be a gross misreading. Those who are in command of a sizeable part of social resources and power mobilise themselves not only for defending their fortresses but also to expand their power and position. Their initial position gives them added potential and punch for effective mobilisation. In fact, social mobilisation by a specific social group is a process which has its inevitable dual in the counter-mobilisation by the other section and strata. *Every social group is simultaneously engaged in a process of mobilisation and counter-mobilisation and the two processes together constitute social mobilisation.* This formulation is inherent in the proposition that every social group or class can and does mobilise itself for its specific historical set of objectives. It is in this sense that mobilisation is conceived as a macro (social or societal) process and cannot be taken to be a micro process.

Depending on whether mobilisation is taking place in a period of relative stagnation or rapid social transformation, the process of social mobilisation derives its specific attributes.¹² For instance, it may be hypothesised that during periods of relative stagnation, the better-off sections will mobilise themselves for protecting their positions with somewhat greater tenacity than the mobilisation mounted by the relatively worse-off sections to advance their prospects. Similarly, it may be expected that the mobilisation by the disadvantaged has better prospects of acquiring strength during periods of rapid social advance than during periods of stagnation.¹³

Mobilisation has been mistakenly considered as a once-over process of redistribution of social resources.¹⁴ If it is also a process of social transformation through popular participation (e.g., through protest movements), it cannot be considered over as and when the immediate objectives are achieved. In any real situation of social change, new challenges, hurdles, operational constraints, new relationship and alignments tend to

¹¹G. Huizer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹²Cf. "Protest movements more frequently emerge in situations of economic growth than in situations of economic stagnation" Hattne and Tamm, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹³Cf. "We believe that economic development and structural Change (in the ordinary western meaning of growth of national income and industrialisation) are very important preconditions for mobilisation but we also think it is premature to build any specific preconditions into a general formulation of the concept," Hattne and Tamm, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁴This view is held by A. Etzioni, "Mobilisation as a Macrosociological Conception", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, 1968, quoted in Hattne and Tamm, *op. cit.*

emerge continually. Moreover, the organisations forged for directing mobilisation process tend to operate a dynamics of their own to continue the mobilisation processes sometimes in more conflicting postures and sometimes in more consolidating postures. This is something inherent in a process which is the unity of mobilisation and counter-mobilisation.

II

It is apparent from the foregoing that the contribution which the theories of mobilisation can make to the processes of social transformation does not lie in the simplistic formulation that the beneficiaries (the presently discontended and deprived groups) should be identified and organised to make political interventions for bringing about desired reallocation of control over resources. Rather it lies (or, ought to lie) in identifying the obstacles which such mobilisation encounters and in defining ways and means for making it capable of meeting the challenge of counter-mobilisation by the interests which are threatened.

For example, the Report of a working group, adopted by a Round Table on "Adaptation of Administration to Rural Development" states that "There are numerous factors which inhibit the organisation of the poor in rural India. Some of these are external to them such as the coercive power of the propertied class, the economic dependence of the poor, the built in bias of the local law and order machinery to maintain the *status quo*, the lack of appropriate legislation and non-implementation of existing laws enacted in their favour, etc. Other inhibiting factors arise from the heterogeneity of poverty itself. The poor are differentiated and divided by such factors as conflicting economic interests, caste and community differences, sex discrimination and other divisive mechanism which compel the poor to compete among themselves for limited opportunities and resources."¹⁵

The external obstacles listed above are nothing but various forms of counter-mobilisation organised by the existing powerholders and the internal obstacles arising from "the heterogeneity of poverty" are some of the means deployed for increasing the effectiveness of counter-mobilisation.

In view of such a juxtaposition of pre-conditions for mobilisation and counter-mobilisation, an important preliminary issue concerning the general framework of mobilisation needs to be clarified. Of course, while trying to achieve its objectives, while, mobilisation and counter-mobilisation may seek to retain a reconciliatory framework. On the other hand, it is also possible under certain sets of conditions that social mobilisation may be intended to achieve a decisive transformation of the social reality.

¹⁵Held in New Delhi, August 16-18, 1978, *Mainstream*, October, 14, 1978 p. 24.

Pre-conditions for social mobilisation are likely to be different depending on whether it is carried on in a reconciliatory or decisive transformation framework.

Since the essence of social mobilisation lies in the counter pulls of mobilisation and counter-mobilisation, an analysis of the pre-conditions for social mobilisation would be facilitated if the elements of a strategy capable of energising the positive thrust of mobilisation simultaneously fixes attention on mechanisms of countering counter-mobilisation. In the following, we attempt to develop an analysis of precondition for effective mobilisation in the specific context of the question of mobilising the rural poor.¹⁶ Like the discussion on the elements of the concept of mobilisation, the discussion on pre-conditions too is at a general and exploratory level.

To begin with, at the cognitive or subjective consciousness level, mobilisation of the rural poor has to overcome the prevalent powerful impact of consciousness oriented to viable, strong, vertical links represented by the patron-client relations between the rural rich and poor. The viability of these vertical links (reflected in the ability of those who are higher ups in wealth, rank and status to provide the needs of subsistence and reproduction to the rural poor) obstructs the emergence of strong horizontal solidarity among the rural poor. In fact, virtual absence of meaningful alternative sources of employment and other social and market relations give rise to excessive clamouring among the rural poor for relying on the resources of the landowners. It is true that breaking the hold of vertical solidarities is essential for strong horizontal collective consciousness for effective mobilisation. But this is contingent upon attending to political, institutional and economic dimensions of mobilisation generating capability to stand up to counter-mobilisation.¹⁷

At the level of political dimensions, one has to understand the sources of power and dominance as residing in factors like command over material resources, numerical strength, political and administrative set-up, education, ritual status, organisations, etc. It would be too deterministic to reduce all the factors to resource ownership. In a pluralist, parliamentary democracy, numerical strength does matter in the political sphere.¹⁸

¹⁶The discussion on pre-conditions for mobilisation is largely an adaptation of the analysis given by Hattne and Tamm, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

¹⁷For a thorough discussion of the question of peasant mobilisation making use of a large number of studies on peasant villages in Asia and Latin America. See, *Peasants, Politics, and Revolution*, by Migdal, Joel, S. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1974.

¹⁸There is considerable controversy on the political strength of members in Indian democracy, particularly with reference to Panchayati Raj institutions. An empirical study concludes that "On the whole it may be said that the weaker sections still feel that they do not have an adequate voice in the Panchayati Raj institution. This is inevitable because the leadership in the Panchayati Raj institutions has been captured by the

Similarly, education and organisation do, over time especially through the growth of public consumption, tend to become somewhat dissociated from asset holdings. The administrative set-up too acquires some standing of its own. However, the near pervasive dominance of the rural/rich cannot be blasted simply by the logic of numbers and increasing availability of public consumption including non-conventional intangibles like organisational support.

Among the difficulties faced in the process of weakening the dominance of the rural rich, a none too insignificant part is played by the opposition inherent in many institutions like the civil, judicial and military bureaucracy, international economic, political and diplomatic relationship, etc., to destabilisation of the prevalent power balance. There may well be institutions like trade unions, political parties, mass political activity, popular committees, etc., which support mobilisation. But their strength and effectiveness are themselves a function of a large number of independent (though inter-related) factors.

This brings us to the really crucial dimension of mobilisation connected with economic factors. At a very general level it is posited that the economics of mobilisation "deals with collective response to non-material (political, ideological, moral), as well as material incentives".¹⁹ However, this is not much help, especially in the context of a really sticky power balance like that in India which limits the extent to which the poorer sections can be mobilised and curb the effectiveness of such mobilisation owing to more aggressive and vocal counter-mobilisation of the landed sections.²⁰ While the material and non-material gains flowing from land distribution are uncertain, distant and elusive, their pursuit through political instruments comes in immediate conflict with the exercise by the smaller agriculturists of buying their right to work and means of subsistence by agreeing to handover the right over their surplus product to the landowners. That is to say, the material strength of the vertical links between the landowners and the landless in terms of immediate economic needs, and the absence of any meaningful protective cushion against the risks of rupturing (temporarily or over a longer period) vertical links (because there are very few non-land, non-landlord based sources

(Continued from previous page)

middle and the upper strata of the society; there has not been much change in the traditional power structure. Nevertheless, changes are being noticed in the nature of leadership Now it is the performance criteria that legitimises the rural leadership which has subsequently tended to be more contractual than ritualistic. . . While, opinions differ on the active participation of the people in development programmes, it is accepted by almost all that the Panchayati Raj has strengthened a participatory democratic culture", *Patterns of Panchayati Raj in India* (ed.), G. Ram Reddy, Macmillan, Delhi 1979, p. 25.

¹⁹Hattné and Tamm, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²⁰Frankel, *op. cit.*, Chapter Five.

of work, income, credit, etc., available in the rural sector) weaken the horizontal urge to forge solidarity among the lower strata. In fact, the horizontal class-consciousness may well be reduced by the competition among the weaker sections for jobs, homestead and cultivable land, credit and other subsidiary employments. In this context one has still to contend with some elements of the social consciousness pervading the lower strata which go to cement the verticle economic links. On the contrary, the elements of social ideology and psychology which boost collective commitment to common goals are slow to surface. This kind of a situation is further accentuated by the general conservatism popularly considered characteristic of peasants and rural labour force. In fact, the form and level of political activity among the rural poor have yet to succeed in making use of a credible blueprint of social transformation to generate an appropriate, supportive value system.

Therefore, it can be inferred that mobilisation of the rural poor, though essential, is rather difficult to materialise in the prevailing situation. The preconditions for such mobilisation are not present in our midst and more seriously, little attention seems to be given to this question. It is true that many have suggested activation and increased use of peasant organisations for implementation of land reforms. Even schemes of giving financial and other kinds of support from government agencies to such organisation have been suggested.²¹ Such discussions do not seem to take into account the factors which go to build up such organisations and the conditions in which they have a fair prospect for becoming tools of land redistribution—the major objective of mobilising rural poor in the present context of countries like India. □

²¹Rajkrishna, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Memorial Lecture, 1979, Part II, the Implementation of Ceilings (Mimeo).

Organisation and Administration of Forest Labourers' Cooperative Organisations: Strengths and Weaknesses

Ratna Murdia

SCHEDULED Tribes constitute about 6 per cent of the total population of Maharashtra. They are concentrated in certain districts, particularly in Dhulia, Nasik and Thana, which have more than 60 per cent of the tribal population of the state. Tribals live in forests which, directly or indirectly, form the basis of their livelihood: tribals depend on forests for food such as fruits of all kinds, edible leaves and roots, honey, wild game and fish. For most of the forest works, tribals understandably form the bulk of the labour force. Yet, they have been treated shabbily by the forest contractors, one of the main agencies engaged in the exploitation of forests. They pay them low wages; deprive them of the rights to exploit minor forest produce, timber and firewood for their household use; and subject them to economic and social serfdom. At least for protecting the interests of the tribals, the elimination of contractors from the exploitation of the forests has become very important. Further, the tribals, who live in forests, should be given a major role in conducting and monitoring forest exploitation so that they may find employment in the places of their habitat on reasonable wages. These steps in combination would hopefully reduce the economic hardships of the tribals. One of the important programmes for promoting the economic development and eradicating the exploitation of tribals, launched by the state government, with the encouragement of the Centre, is the organisation of the forest labourers' cooperatives.

The Maharashtra Government has been very alert and sensitive to the problems and interests of the forest labourers for quite some time. The

earliest attempt to protect the interests of the forest labourers in the state was made by the then Government of Bombay in 1938, when it prescribed a minimum wage of rupees 1-25 per day for forest works. However, contractors often did not pay this wage to tribals since they were not legally bound to do so. A more significant step to end the exploitation of the forest labourers in the state was taken in 1947 by the then Chief Minister of Bombay State, the late B.G. Kher. He formulated a policy for the organisation of the Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies (FLCS) composed of forest dwellers which would undertake the task of coupe exploitation. It was believed that the tribals would receive fair wages and a share in the profit of the FLCS which would also create more employment opportunities. Thus, in 1947-48, eleven primary forest labourers' cooperative societies (PFLCS) were organised in different parts of the state. Since then, the movement has spread widely in the state.

The success of these cooperative societies has been eulogised by several government enquiry committees of the central and state governments. The main reason for winning approbation for the programme is that the state has been able to develop a visibly impressive organisational structure. We, therefore, undertook a study* with the following main objectives: (1)(a) To examine the goals, conditions and procedures for the formation of the PFLCS. (b) To study the composition of the PFLCS. (c) To examine the procedures regarding the allotment of coupes, operation of coupes, management of depots, and sales of proceeds. (d) To study the wage structure and financial position of the PFLCS. (e) To examine the system of accounts, supervision and audits in the primary societies. (f) To study the knowledge of the members of the PFLCS regarding the goals of the PFLCS, fixation of wages, distribution of bonus, determination of profit, and the types and quantities of welfare services provided by the PFLCS. (g) To examine the extent of participation of the rank and file in the management of the PFLCS. (2) To study the composition, functions and the financial position of the district and state federations. (3) To study the knowledge of the office-bearers about the goals of PFLCS, eligibility criteria, rules and procedures for becoming members/office-bearers of PFLCS, district and state federations, and the working of the PFLCS. (4) To examine the organisational structure of forest labourers' cooperative organisation. (5) To examine the administrative problems and issues such as interrelationship among PFLCS, district and state federations, and coordination between the forest department, cooperative department, and state and district federations.

*S.N. Dubey and Ratna Murdia, *Organization and Administration of Forest Labourers Cooperatives in Maharashtra*, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 1977 (mimeographed),

RESEARCH DESIGN

Selection of the Samples

The study covered 12 societies from three districts having predominance of tribal population and a number of PFLCS. The persons involved in the operation of these societies were classified as worker-member, non-member workers and non-worker members, and 7 per cent of them were included in our study selected by random sample method. A total of 223 persons were interviewed from the above strata of populations. A second group of respondents consisted of all the chairmen and the members of the managing committees of the sampled PFLCS and the district federations to which the sample societies were affiliated.

Techniques of Data Collection

We used primary as well as secondary data in the study. The primary data were collected by an interview schedule from non-working members and member-workers of the societies.

Interview schedule-cum-guides were used for collecting data largely on the functioning of FLCS organisations from the members and chairmen of managing committees and the officials of government departments, involved in the programme.

ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN OF THE FLC ORGANISATIONS: STRENGTH AND ISSUES

The forest labourers cooperative organisations consist of primary societies, district federations, the state federation, and the state council. The PFLCS is the basic unit in the organisational structure. The PFLCS consists of tribal share-holders who are willing to work on the projects undertaken by the society.

The PFLCS are governed by the model bye-laws, framed under the Maharashtra Cooperative Societies Act, 1960 and the Maharashtra Cooperative Societies Rule, 1961. A PFLCS has to be registered under the Maharashtra Cooperative Societies Act, 1960 in order to be recognised as a corporate body. The requirements for the registration are: (i) there should be at least 30 members; (ii) a certificate from the Forest Department which should specify the vacant felling series available for allotment; and (iii) the district federation under whose jurisdiction the proposed society falls, should be willing to sponsor the registration of the society.

The main objectives of the PFLCS are: (1) to undertake contracts from public and private parties to provide work to skilled and unskilled manual labourers and to operate them in such a manner as would encourage thrift, self-help and cooperation among the members; (2) to secure, on contract, forest coupes and minor forest produce farms for producing charcoal, timber and firewood and for supplying these products to the state govern-

ments and other institutions on indent basis or to arrange for their sale, (3) to undertake labour contract works from the state government departments or from private bodies if the coupe works are inadequate; (4) to undertake welfare activities for the benefit of forest labourers in general and for its members in particular; and (5) to undertake forest-based industries subsidiary activities.

The membership to the PFLCS is mainly drawn from the following groups: (1) The forest workers residing in the area of operation of the society. (2) The labourers or artisans working and residing in the area of operation of the society. (3) Sympathisers—social workers from the social service organisations approved by the state government working in the forest areas for the social and economic welfare of the forest dwellers. The number of sympathisers is limited to 10 per cent of the total membership. (4) Associate and nominal members. (5) One representative each from cooperative, forest, and social welfare departments, and the district cooperative bank.

However, we found that there is a large number of non-working members in the societies. Thus, PFLCS do not exclusively serve workers in tribal areas, but include others. There are several reasons for this situation: (i) Since the societies need certain minimum number of members, they enrol any person willing to become a member. (ii) Tribal labourers, due to poverty, are unable to pay membership fee and the price of a share. One also finds that the percentage of the non-member workers and the worker-members in PFLCS has not changed significantly over the last 25 years. The percentage of non-member workers in the societies formed between 1948 and 1960 was 22.65; and the percentage of this group in the societies formed between 1960 and 1970 was 21.16. The percentage of worker-members in the societies formed between 1948 and 1960 was 20.86; and the percentage of this group in the societies formed between 1960 and 1970 was 29.29. Thus one finds hardly an appreciable difference between these two periods which covers a time span of roughly 25 years.

Further, one finds that though the forest labours' cooperative societies in the state have been formed for forest labourers, about 48 per cent of the members do not work on the projects undertaken by the societies. This is supported by many studies. Muranjan analysed the data on the number of working and non-working members in PFLCS available with the state council of the forest labourers' cooperatives for the whole state for a period of 5 years (*i.e.*, 1965-70). He reported that 40 per cent of the members of the PFLCS do not work at all on the coupes. (1972:116).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE NON-WORKER MEMBERS, WORKER-MEMBERS, NON-MEMBER WORKERS OF THE PFLCS

Data indicate that educationally the non-member workers are the most

disadvantaged and the non-worker members are least disadvantaged. The worker members are in the middle. Further, about three-fourth of non-worker members, less than half of non-member workers and about two-third of member workers own land.

The data on family size, income, education and land-holding reveal that non-worker members, on the whole, are socially and economically least disadvantaged, while the non-member workers are the most disadvantaged. The worker members fall in the middle of these two extremes of social and economic status. However, all the three groups live below the subsistence level. One, therefore, wonders why the non-worker members do not work on the projects of the society in order to supplement their income. We collected information on reasons for their not working on such projects. Among the reasons, following were more common: (i) The society did not provide them work. (ii) Projects were located far away from their place of residence. (iii) They did not have time to work on the projects. (iv) They were too old to work. (v) They did not need any money; (vi) Wages paid by the societies were very low.

Another closely related question is: why do the non-member workers not become the members of the society? The reasons discovered were as follows: (i) They did not have money to pay the cost of a share of the society and membership fee; (ii) They did not know how to become members; (iii) Some of them were not interested in joining the PFLCS as members.

Two basic issues emerge from the above: (1) Should the persons who do not want to work on the projects of the society be retained as members of the PFLCS? It seems that it is not useful to allow these persons to join PFLCS; and those enrolled in the societies belonging to this category should be disqualified from the membership. For the implementation of this recommendation, suitable modifications in the model bye-laws will have to be made. Further, those non-worker members who are willing to work on the projects of the societies should be given employment; and the societies should not enrol additional members till they are able to provide employment to their old members. (2) What should be done to enable non-member workers to become members of the society? The following steps in this regard may be useful: (i) Membership and share values may be collected from them in instalments from their wages. (ii) Leadership of the society should organise an orientation course for these persons to provide knowledge of the goals, objectives and service and benefits offered by the PFLCS. (iii) Secretaries and accountants of the PFLCS should conduct discussion groups and adult literacy classes to enable the tribals to become aware of the goals and purposes of the societies which will persuade them to become members of the societies.

The *District Federation*, a middle unit in the organisational structure, consists of one elected representative from each primary society registered

in the area of the federation and sympathisers not exceeding ten per cent of the total numbers nominated by social welfare organisations in the area. The main functions of the district federation are: (1) to sponsor primary societies in its area of jurisdiction; (2) to recommend societies for the allotment of coupes; and (3) to guide, supervise and coordinate the activities of the societies.

The *State Federation*, an apex unit in the organisational structure, consists of representatives of PFLCS, representatives of district federations, representatives of social service organisations engaged in the upliftment of the Adivasis and connected with the movement of forest labourers cooperatives, representatives of the state government, and sympathisers, associate and nominal members, representatives from the government department, *i.e.*, cooperative bank, additional chief conservator of forest, joint registrar, cooperatives, etc.

The *State Council*, an advisory body, consists of the following members: The State Minister of Cooperation as its chairman, the Deputy Minister of Forest as its vice-chairman; six to eight social workers; the secretaries of agriculture and revenue and forest; deputy secretary of finance and social welfare department; chief conservator of forest; the commissioner for cooperation, the director of social welfare; and representative of the state cooperative bank.

A close scrutiny of the formation of forest labourers' co-operative organisations reveals that they are organic in character: that is, they are inter-connected by the common membership. The membership in PFLCS forms the main basis for the formation of higher-level units—the district and state federations. The district federation consists of one representative from each PFLCS registered in the jurisdiction of the federation. Similarly, state federation consists of the representatives of the PFLCS and of the district federations. The organic inter-relationship among these units is designed to promote an effective coordination among them and to keep these bodies continuously sensitive to the needs and interests of the rank and file. For practical purposes, this element in the organisational design of the forest labourers' cooperative organisations seems very sound. It provides for continuous, direct and relevant feedback to the decision-centres in the organisation. It also provides for a continuous and spontaneous feedback which permits the organisation to take timely action on policies and procedures which may run into hot water in actual operation at the grassroot level. It provides for direct inputs of the rank and file in the formulation of policies in the organisation.

A second important feature of the organisational design of the forest labourers' cooperative organisations is a clear-cut division of responsibilities among the various units in the organisational structure. For example, primary societies are responsible for the exploitation of coupes, payment of wages to the labourers, maintenance of accounts, enrolment of member-

ship, holding of meetings, distribution of dividend, etc. The interfaced areas of functions among societies such as allotment of coupes, negotiation of wages, agreement for loans and training of personnel, have been assigned to the district federation. This is believed to be useful in reducing and mediating conflicts among the societies. District federations have been also made responsible for organising common services, (*i.e.*, training and maintenance of the cadre of staff, arranging conferences of societies in the state and consultancy, which are useful in all societies and are believed to have contributed to economy and efficiency in the operation of the societies. Similarly, the interfaced areas among district federations, such as, the development of forest-based industries, research and organisation of seminars, have been assigned to the state federation. Further the task of mediating conflicts among federations and cooperating agencies has been assigned to the State Council. This seems to have helped in reducing conflicts among the district federations and achieving economy in providing common services required by the federations.

A third important feature of the design of these organisations is the hierarchical distribution of authority among the organisational unit for organisational matters. In a hierarchical organisation, the higher-level bodies are assigned authority to make non-routine or policy decisions, while the lower-level units are assigned authority for making routine or implementational decisions. Besides, the decisions made by the lower-level bodies are subject to the approval of the higher level bodies. From this angle, forest labourers' cooperative organisations are basically hierarchical. Authority to make policy decisions rests with the district and state federations; and authority to deal with routine matters — listed above — has been assigned to the PFLCS. This has brought about uniformity in the programme and the policies regarding the working of the forest labourers' cooperative organisations in the state.

A fourth important feature of the design of these organisations is the formal unit and procedural system of coordination among the interacting organisations. The FLC organisations closely work with the cooperative and forest departments. The forest department assigns coupes to these organisations, while the Cooperative Department supervises their work. The coordination among them is formal through district-level wage settlement committees which deal with wage rate disagreements, the state council, and through specific bye-laws and rules. This has helped the FLC organisations to monitor their relationships with these departments with a reasonable degree of certainty.

ISSUES IN THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT OF FOREST LABOURERS COOPERATIVE ORGANISATION

One of the issues refers to the role of representatives of the voluntary

social welfare organisations—now called sympathisers—in the programme. Before the district federations were organised, the voluntary social welfare organisations were primarily responsible for sponsoring and guiding the working of the forest labourers' cooperative societies. This is now attended by district federations and the representatives of voluntary social welfare organisations, participate as sympathisers. This has been done to involve the tribals fully and effectively in the management of the societies. But the transfer of power has not taken place in a real sense. Though sympathisers have no real authority, informally they wield considerable influence, if not total control, over decision-making at all levels of these organisations. This is so primarily because most of the social welfare organisations and their representatives active in the field of forest labourers' cooperative movement, have been in the area for a considerable period of time and have developed connections with district and state politicians. Thus, they are able to settle matters of the societies with the government departments quickly and sometimes in favour of the societies. Tribals who lack these contacts, value the help of these sympathisers. But this is not without a price. In return, the sympathisers exercise virtual control over the affairs of the society. This limits the scope of the members for taking effective part in the management of societies and for developing a sense of confidence and self-dependence. Thus, the issue is to determine clearly the role which the representative of the voluntary welfare organisations can still continue to play consistent with the need to ensure the development of tribal leadership which should now manage these organisations. One of the ways to limit the influence of sympathisers is to reduce the number of such people in various units in the organisational structure of the forest labourers' cooperative organisations.

A second issue is whether there is really any need for such a large complex control system, as has been put together, to deal with such relatively simple programmes. Let us see what is involved. In order to check the proper functioning of primary societies, three independent agencies have been made responsible for inspection work: (1) district federation, which carry out the supervision of the activities of the societies, including accounts, through their group supervisors; (2) Auditor of the district deputy registrar of cooperative societies, who carries out the auditing of the accounts; and (3) Special Flying squad, which is a part of the Office of the Registrar for Cooperation which conducts surprise checks of the accounts of the primary societies. One wonders whether such an extended and multiple inspection is required and whether the cost involved in such a detail control system is worth the returns. There seems to be a need for serious review of this arrangement. It may be suggested that the societies may be audited only by one independent agency. This preferably could be done by the auditor of the deputy cooperative registrar, who is an independent officer. There is no need for the flying squad, the

operational cost of which is heavy and the real benefits from which are marginal. It is a common experience that too many controls tend to breed corruption and delays.

It is, therefore, important to examine seriously whether such an elaborate organisational structure of the forest labourers' cooperative organisations is required for such small and diminishing returns. The contribution of the district and the state federations seems neither unique which other existing agencies (such as the TDC, and/or Directorate of Tribal Welfare) cannot perform nor adequate to warrant a heavy recurring expenditure required to maintain them. The supervisory functions of these organisations can be undertaken by the Tribal Development Corporation. The cadre of personnel maintained by the district federations can be transferred to the corporation. In other words, the district state federations can be abolished and the functions performed by these units can be assigned to the Tribal Development Corporation. This will: (i) promote greater coherence and coordination among the various programmes for the development of tribal communities such as those meant for doing away with the socio-economic exploitation by the non-tribals and those developed to create employment opportunities and additional economic resources in tribal areas; (ii) simplify and administrative machinery for tribal welfare programmes in the state since the beneficiaries will have to deal with fewer number of agencies; (iii) reduce the administrative cost by a greater coordination among the staff and a large volume of activities; (iv) ensure the availability of the service of more qualified and experienced staff in the field of tribal welfare; and (v) also ensure more appropriate utilisation of the amount available for social welfare activities.

Another issue is the development of oligarchy in these organisations. We found that a handful of persons, either elected or appointed, dominate, and, perhaps, dictate the affairs in mutual benefit organisations, though there may be organisational mechanisms to allow the rank and file to influence the formulation and implementation of the policies in the organisation. In other words, organisational machinery created to translate the interests and aspirations of the rank and the file remains largely utilised and ineffective. This tends to happen because most of the members of mutual benefit organisations are not sufficiently interested to devote their time to the affairs of the organisation, and tend to be contented to leave the running of the organisation to a corps of active members or to hired staff. Once the organisation is under the control of these groups of persons, a vicious circle begins—decreasing interest of the members leads to increased usurpation of powers by the active members or the staff in these organisations. Thus, it has been observed that the lower the interests of the members in the affairs of the organisation the greater are the chances of the centralisation of powers in the hands of a few active

persons, in other words, development of oligarchy. We examined this hypothesis in our study in respect of the PFLCS. We argued that one way to ascertain the interest of the members in the affairs of the organisation is by assessing their knowledge about it. If one is really interested in the organisation, he would make efforts to know about its objectives, criteria for membership and procedures governing its operation. We collected data on the knowledge of members and member-workers about the goals of the organisation, criteria and procedures for becoming members, fixing wages, selling material, distributing profit, as also the criteria and procedures for becoming office-bearers. We believed that these aspects of the working of PFLCS are the direct interest to the rank and file.

TABLE 1 KNOWLEDGE OF MEMBERS AND MEMBER-WORKERS
OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PFLCS

	<i>(Distribution in per cent)</i>						
	<i>Member- ship criteria</i>	<i>Member- ship proce- dure</i>	<i>Wage fixa- tion- proce- dure</i>	<i>Items on which profit is distri- buted</i>	<i>Proce- dure for the distrib- ution of pro- fit</i>	<i>Crite- ria to become office bearer</i>	<i>Proce- dure to become office bearer</i>
Member (n=132)							
Fully aware	—	27	5	—	2	3	7
Partly aware	51	40	5	11	2	50	0
Not aware	49	35	90	89	96	45	93
Member-workers (n=45)							
Fully aware	—	22	—	—	—	7	8
Partly aware	31	13	13	2	—	33	0
Not aware	70	65	87	98	100	60	92

The data in the above table show that the majority of members and member-workers either have no knowledge or possess only part knowledge of the major aspects of the working of the societies. Thus, one of the conditions—lack of interest of the members in the affairs of the organisation which promotes oligarchy in voluntary organisations is present in the PFLCS

We also asked our respondents in these groups whether they participated in the affairs of the society. Participation was measured in terms of attending meetings, taking part in voting and in discussion. If one participated in all these activities he was rated as high on participation. If one participated in any two of the above activities he was rated as medium on

participation. If one participated in any one of the above activities he was rated as low on participation. The data on participation are given in the Table 2.

TABLE 2 PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF PFLCS
BY MEMBERS AND MEMBER-WORKERS

	<i>High</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>Medium</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>Low</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>No parti-</i> <i>cipation</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>n</i>
Members	15(11)	26(20)	26(20)	65(49)	132
Member-workers	4(9)	5(11)	6(13)	30(67)	45
TOTAL	19	31	32	95	177

The data in the above Table indicate that the extent of participation among members and member-workers is very low. About 69 per cent of the members either do not participate or participate only in one of the activities. Among the member-workers, about 80 per cent either do not participate or participate in only one of the activities. Lack of participation is more among the member-workers than among the members. We raised the following questions in this regard: (1) How do the societies function when such a large part of the membership does not participate? (2) Why do members participate more than member-workers? We collected information on these aspects by non-participation observation of the management of societies and by informal (fire-side chat) discussions with the members of PFLCS, and the officials of the district and state federations. Through these techniques we gathered information on the actual practices followed by the staff of the PFLCS in conducting the affairs of the societies. We found that the staff of the PFLCS adopt the following practices in handling decisions in matters pertaining to the societies: (1) They write down the resolutions which they think the societies should pass and obtain the signatures or thumb impressions of the members and write the required resolution later. This eliminates the need of contacting members and worker-members again and again. (3) The number of meetings is minimised. Thus, though the majority of members do not participate, the staff, through these methods, carry on the affairs of the society. Thus, in societies one finds only symbolic democracy—democracy in name and on paper rather than in reality.

What are the factors which contribute to such a widespread apathy and extremely limited extent of participation of the members and member-workers in the management of PFLCS? Among the various factors, lack of participation in the unions, lack of education and skill in oral and

written expression, lack of economic resources, and family and social pressures are the most common ones. S.N. Pandey observes that "agricultural workers suffer from personal disabilities which come in their way of organizing themselves and taking part in the organisation created for them. Vast majority of them are illiterate, ignorant, socially backward, economically vulnerable and powerless. Further, they have virtually no experience of participation in formal organisation.

A review of the social and economic characteristics of members and member-workers reveals that they suffer from all these disabilities pointed out by Pandey about the farm labourers. In respect of education, one finds that 62 per cent of members ($n=132$) and 71 per cent of the member-workers ($n=45$) were illiterate. Only 5 per cent of the members and 2 per cent of the member-workers have completed between 6 and 11 years of education. In terms of economic condition, one finds that they are very poor. About 82 per cent of the members, 90 per cent of member-workers, and 85 per cent of the non-member workers have family income of less than Rs. 3,000 per year. In terms of organisational experience, about 85 per cent of the members ($n=132$) and 93 per cent of member-workers ($n=45$) do not belong to any organisation including village panchayats. Thus, one finds that personal disabilities such as poor economic condition, lack of organisational experience and illiteracy are the main factors leading to their apathy to participation in the management of the PFLCS.

A second important variable which limits the scope of the operation of democracy and gives rise to an oligarchy in mutual benefit organisations is the usurpation of powers by the elitist minority or by the hired staff. Usurpation of powers tends to be more frequent if the difference in socio-economic status of the general membership and the hired staff or the elitist minority is wide. Let us examine the above hypothesis in the context of the PFLCS organisations. The main functionaries at the primary society level are secretary-cum-accountant, clerks, mukadams and coupe agents. Among the members of the elitist minority, one may include the members of the managing committee. We collected information on the socio-economic characteristics of the members, member-workers, staff and office bearers of the PFLCS and the district federations.

Analysis of the socio-economic background (measured in terms of education, income, land-holding, ownership and type of houses, of the members, member-workers, office-bearers of the PFLCS, district federations and the staff of the PFLCS showed that the gap between the socio-economic background of the office-bearers and the rank and file is very wide.

Out of 132 members, 62 per cent were illiterate; out of 45 member-workers, 71 per cent were illiterate; out of 52 office-bearers of the PFLCS, only 36 per cent were illiterate; and out of 16 office-bearers of the district

federations only 12 per cent were illiterate. All the staff members of the PFLCS had education at least up to primary level. Thus, in terms of education, members and member-workers were more disadvantaged than the office-bearers of the PFLCS and district federation and the staff members of the PFLCS. In terms of the ownership of landholdings among the above groups, out of 132 members, about 24 per cent did not own any land; out of 45 member-workers, 38 per cent did not own any land; out of 52 officer-bearers of the PFLCS, about 15 per cent did not own any land; out of 38 staff members of the PFLCS, 21 per cent were landless; and out of 16 office-bearers of the district federation, about 6 per cent were landless. The data show that the number of landless is the highest among the rank and file (members and member-workers) and the lowest among the office-bearers of the district federations. It is also evident that the percentage of the landless is higher among the rank and file than among the staff.

The data on the size of land-holding among these groups were collected by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay. The data reveal that the office-bearers of the district federations are the most favourably situated group insofar as landholding is concerned. The office-bearers of the PFLCS come next in the size of landholding. Member-workers are the most disadvantaged group insofar as the size of landholding is concerned.

It is obvious, then, that in terms of the socio-economic background of the members, member-workers, office-bearers of the PFLCS, district federation and the staff of the PFLCS, the gap between the socio-economic background of the office-bearers and the rank and file is very wide. In other words, two important conditions for the development and operation of oligarchy in mutual benefit-organisations (a wide gap between the rank and file and the elitist minority and between the rank and file and the hired staff) are present in the forest labourers' cooperative organisations. The staff and the office-bearers of the PFLCS and the district federations, who clearly are advantaged in the possession of requisite skills and resources for participation in the affairs of the societies, tend to exercise authority autocratically. They run societies in a manner which shows that they are nothing more than symbolic democracies.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that about 40 per cent of the secretaries and accountants employed in PFLCS belonged to non-tribal groups.

The study also examined the structural attributes of the forest labourers' cooperative organisations which may be related to the development and operation of oligarchy in these organisations. Studies have pointed out that the usurpation of powers in mutual-benefit organisations tend to be more frequent when the hired staff are accountable to external units and not to the units in which they work. This is because their promotion, increment and job security, etc., are determined externally and the host

organisation has very little say in it. The main functionaries of the PFLCS—secretaries, accountant and clerks—are appointed and supervised by the district federations. The societies have no administrative control over these functionaries. Their appointments, increments and promotions are decided by the District Federations. Another important formal practice which adversely affects the operation of democracy and promotes oligarchy in FLC organisations is the diffused criteria for membership to the PFLCS. Generally speaking, the main purpose of the forest labourers' cooperative movement is to improve the economic condition of the tribal labourers by eliminating exploitative agencies and practices and to provide them an opportunity to acquire leadership skills to manage their own affairs. Thus, the societies were organised for the tribals who were seeking work (*i.e.*, labourers). However, societies often have a majority of members who are not workers. The societies also have a large number of workers who are not enrolled as members. For example, we found that in the twelve sample societies in the three sample districts, out of 3,102 persons listed in these societies, two-third (63%) are members only—who do not work on the project of the societies; 18.5 per cent are member-workers; and 18.5 per cent are non-member workers—persons who work on societies' projects but are not enrolled as members.

The composition of the membership of the PFLCS tends to affect the structure and processes—in the forest labourers' cooperative organisations in the following ways: (1) Office-bearers of the primary societies tend to be drawn basically from the group of members only since they constitute the majority. (2) Office-bearers of the societies are economically and socially better off than the worker members. (3) The major interest of the office-bearers is to use the forest labourers' cooperative organisations as a stepping stone for political positions (they are only marginally interested in furthering the interests of the forest labourers). One of the ways which the elitist minority follows in order to serve its interests is to put a greater emphasis on the business goals rather than on the educational goals of the PFLCS.

Among the informal practices which limit the scope for the operation of democracy in these organisations, informal and diffused authority exercised by the representatives of the voluntary social welfare organisations is the most important one.

ISSUES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PFLCS

One of the most important issues in the management of PFLCS is the determination of acceptable rates of expenditure on some of the admissible items. Among the thirty-three items, on which expenses are admitted by the Forest Department, disagreement between PFLCS and the Forest Department arise most often on the following items: (a)

Dragging of timber and fire wood, (b) construction of approach roads, and (c) cost of travelling of the members of the Managing Committee and the staff of the society. Let us examine the issue involved in each of these items of operations.

Dragging of Timber and Fire Wood

Dragging is a variable item of expenditure because the quantum of dragging depends upon the topography of the coupe area. The responsibility to fix the rates for dragging rests with the Circle Wage Boards. However, in view of the variable nature of the item, powers have been delegated to Divisional Forest Officers to fix special rates in situations where they are considered to be justified. In spite of this, societies have complained that admissible rates for this part of coupe exploitation are very low; and, thus they have to incur more expenses than what the forest department allows. It seems that the admissible expenditure on this item can be more appropriately rationalised. Since the dragging greatly depends on the topography in the felling series and, thus, varies from one felling series to another, the following systems may be followed in determining the quantum of admissible expenditure on this item. The exploited coupes in terms of topography, may be grouped on three point scale: very difficult couper, somewhat difficult coupes and difficult coupes. Operational definitions of these terms would have to be mutually arrived at by the forest department and the representatives of the societies. This work may be undertaken by the State Federation of the Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies. An average of actual expenditure incurred on the coupes in these categories on dragging during the last five years should be worked out. The differences between the average of actual expenditure and the average of admitted expenditure should be calculated. The Forest Department should admit 75 per cent of the difference on pro-rata basis for each category of coupes. This should be reviewed every three years to take a stock of the increased labour cost.

Construction of Kachcha Road

The construction of Kachcha tract is required practically in all the coupes for the transporting material from coupes to depots. In view of the persistent dispute over this item of expenditure between the Forest Department and practically most PFLCS exploiting the coupes, the State Government issued orders that, for the construction of kachcha tracts the actual expenditure or the fixed amount determined by the DFO, whichever is less, should be allowed. This obviously did not satisfy the PFLCS since the orders did not change the situation a bit. They, therefore, represented to the Government pleading that the actual expenses incurred on the construction of kachcha road should be accepted. Meanwhile, the chief conservator of forests, it is proposed, should work out average cost

per kilometre for the construction of kachcha road including the expenses for felling, clearing, etc., for each locality on the basis of the last two years' expenses incurred on this item. The difference between the average of actual expenditure and the average of admitted expenditure should be worked out. Seventy-five per cent of the difference between the actual and admitted expenditures should be paid to the societies. This will encourage the societies to economise their expenses and void waste. This will also provide some rational basis for determining the rates on this item. However, there should be a provision for reviewing these rates periodically (may be once in three years) to take into account the increased cost of labour.)

Cost of Travelling of the Members of the Management Committee and the Staff of the PFLCS

Cost on travelling of the members of the management committee and staff authorised to travel in connection with the work of the society is another bone of contention between the forest department and the PFLCS. The members of the management committee and the staff are required to travel for such work as supervision of coupe operation, depot maintenance, attending committee meetings, annual general meeting of the society, meeting of the District Federation, etc. The total amount currently allowed under this head is rupees 250 or the actual amount whichever is less, societies find this amount very inadequate. They argue that societies' staff are expected to travel for 20 days in a month during coupe operation for supervising works, payment of wages, attending meetings called by the district federation, etc. The amount does not appear sufficient for this purpose by any stretch of imagination. Currently, therefore, they have to pay the difference between the actual expenditure and the admissible amount from their profit which reduces their amount of net profit further. The forest department, on the other hand, argue that societies submit false vouchers and undertake unnecessary journeys. One of the ways to deal with this problem is to provide certain percentage (says 75 per cent) of the gross value of the material extracted from the coupes to cover the travelling expenses. This will have the following advantages: (i) This will be related with the volume of business. (ii) This will also standardise the system of working out the amount, and would reduce the grievances of the societies.

A second issue in the management of PFLCS is that the final settlement of accounts is delayed by the forest department, though a time-table for the submission and the finalisation of accounts has been worked out. However, the societies complain that the forest department does not settle the final accounts for several years; and it only gives a provisional settlement of the accounts. Let us see what is involved in the settlement of accounts, Societies have to deposit 60 per cent of the value of the sale

of timber and 40 per cent of the value of the sale of the wood and charcoal in the account of the forest department and keep the remaining percentage of sale of timber and fire wood to pay for the expenses incurred on coupe operation. Other claims of the societies—profit and balance of expenditure on admissible items—are settled when the accounts are finalised. The societies complain that these claims remain unsettled till the final accounts are settled which may take any time from one to four years. As a result, societies' money remains blocked. Societies also argue that they are unable to repay to financial institutions the loan which they borrow to finance coupe operations. The forest department, on the other hand points out that the societies' argument in this regard has more bones than meat, because of the following reasons: (a) Though final settlement of accounts is delayed, a provisional settlement is made without much delay. Thus, societies' money blocked with the forest department is not very much. (b) Societies are basically responsible for the delay in the settlement of final account in a large number of cases. They, first of all, do not submit their accounts in proper form. The main and consistent defects found in their accounts are: (i) supporting vouchers are often not enclosed with the claims; (ii) there are many irregularities in the expenditure; (iii) accounts are not maintained up-to-date; (iv) the societies do not comply with the queries raised by the forest department in time. Sometimes they do not respond to them for several months. Consequently, the forest department is not in a position to settle the accounts promptly; and (v) societies sometimes do not sell all of their material in the same year. They keep stocks till they get better prices. In view of these observations; it seems that both the parties (forest department and the FPLCS) are responsible for the delay in the settlement of accounts. However, societies seems to lose more than gain by adopting this dilatory attitude in the finalisation of accounts, and they will, therefore, be willing to comply with the points raised by the Forest Department provided they are not unreasonable and purely ritualistic. Consequently, the forest department should show more imagination, innovation and understanding in the handling of this problem. The following steps may be taken to solve this problem: (a) Concurrent audit should be made more stringent and thorough; and most of the technical problems should be handled at this level. The nature of auditing should be more problem-solving and consultative than inspectional. (b) If the forest department is unable to finalise the account of the societies within a due date, it should pay all the claims of the societies immediately, and, if no review, the department finds that the societies have to pay some amount to it, the same may be recovered. Alternatively, if the above suggestion is found unacceptable, the forest department should pay a reasonable interest to the societies on the amount found payable to them in the settlement of final accounts for the period between the due date

and date of settlement. (c) For handling cases in which the delay has occurred because of unsold stock, a system may be devised to discourage societies to hold over stock for the purpose of getting higher prices in future. One of the ways to handle this may be to make the concerned societies pay to the forest department some percentage of the extra price earned by them. If the suggestion is not acceptable on the ground that it would be too harsh on the societies, then interest may be charged to them on the sale proceeds for the period the sale has been delayed. After all, when the stock is not sold, the forest department money also remains blocked; and since societies get higher price they should be willing to pay interest on the amount which the stock fetches when it is sold next year.

A third issue in the management of the PFLCS refers to the criteria used to evaluate the working of the societies. The following aspects are assessed to arrive at their overall performance: (a) Soundness of the financial position of the societies. (b) Efficiency of the societies in the exploitation of coupes, management of coupes, sales depots and sale of material. (c) Size of expenditure on the thirty-three admissible items. (d) Correct, proper and up-to-date maintenance of accounts. (e) General management of societies, (f) Observance of rules, regulations and bye-laws. (g) Maintenance of general information regarding the working of societies. Marks are given to each society according to its performance in each of the above areas and are then added to accord it one of the A, B, C, and D status.

The following points emerge from the above system of evaluation: (i) The criteria used in the evaluation are not standardised and the allotment of marks is largely made on subjective impressions of the auditors instead of on measurable, uniform and objective criteria. Thus, they yield unreliable and inconsistent evaluation of the societies. Since the audit status (the status of A, B, C and D) is used in the allotment of coupes to the societies, it is desirable that these criteria are more clearly identified and stated in measurable terms. (ii) These criteria primarily evaluate the efficiency of the societies—how well they follow the prescribed procedure and methods—rather than their effectiveness. These criteria, thus, are in-input criteria rather than out-output criteria. The rating of societies, thus indicates economy in operations, proper maintenance of accounts and general information rather than the extent of the achievement of their goals. In this respect, they at best assess management in-inputs in the societies, assuming perhaps that a better management of in-inputs would lead to better out-puts. It should, however, be noted that this assumption may not be true because: (a) in-inputs may not be directly related to out-puts; and (b) organisational leadership may concentrate its efforts only in-input management and may lose sight of performance out-put. Thus, one may run an efficient organisation but not an effective organisation. This

distinction has assumed considerable importance in the measurement of organisational performance, and has given birth to a new strategy of management called MBO (Management by Objectives). Thus, there is a need to assess the working of the societies in terms of their out-put which professionally will promote the achievement of their goals. One may suggest the following criteria in this respect: (i) Increase in their amount of business; (ii) increase in the enrolment of members; (iii) increase in the amount of profit; (iv) increase in number of days of employment offered by the societies; (v) increase in wages; (vi) number of types of welfare activities; (vii) increase in the number of tribals in the staff; and (viii) number of adult literacy classes, etc.

A fourth administrative issue in the management of the PFLCS refers to the rampant malpractices. The following important malpractices tend to be common in the societies: (1) Misappropriation of funds of the societies; (2) maintenance of fictitious muster rolls at coupes; (3) submission of false vouchers, particularly for travelling; (4) under-recording of the material; (5) under-payment of wages; (6) false minutes of meetings; (7) obtaining signatures of members of the management committee on blank papers to record proceedings of the committee; (8) utilisation of the funds of the societies by secretaries and chairmen for personal use; and (9) advance payment of wages and charging interest on them. The prevalence of these practices varies from one society to another and all societies may not suffer from all these ills. However, they are rampant. The main factors responsible for this situation are: (a) Illiteracy and ignorance of the members of the societies; (b) dishonest staff; (c) lack of proper supervision to coupes; (d) general acceptance of the practice of obtaining certain considerations by the staff and the office-bearers; and (e) poor quality of staff.

In order to reduce these practices the following measures may be adopted: (1) Literacy campaign should be organised by the PFLCS, district federations and voluntary organisations (among the tribals.) In this campaign, priority should be given to those persons who are enrolled as member-workers and workers of the societies. (2) A vigorous campaign should be organised to educate the members of the PFLCS about their rights and responsibilities and about the goals, procedures, etc., of the societies. (3) A more frequent supervision of coupes and sales depots should be arranged. (4) Better quality of staff at PFLCS and at the district federation levels should be appointed.

A fifth issue in the management of the PFLCS is their inability to achieve their goals. It is generally agreed by most, if not by all persons involved in the implementation of the programme that, the societies have largely, if not utterly, failed in creating additional employment. They are able to employ the forest labourers for not more than 100 days in a year. Our study revealed that on an average forest labourers were employed

for 3.5 months in a year on societies' projects. We also asked the officials of the cooperative and forest department, representatives of the district federations—from Dhulia, Nasik and Thana—whether the societies have been able to provide increased employment to their members. They all observed that the forest labourers' cooperative movement has failed in providing all the year round employment to forest labourers. The period is not substantially larger than that when employment was provided by the contractors. Wages offered by the societies to their workers are not substantially higher than the wages offered by the forest contractors. The number of tribals employed on the projects undertaken by the societies has also not increased substantially. Thus, the impact of the forest labourers' cooperative movement on the economic conditions of the tribals in the state has been negligible. In order that the forest labourers get work all the year round, it is necessary that the forest labourers' cooperative societies are entrusted with all the forest works like the collection of all the minor forest produce and of items like tendu leaves as well as all plantation work, nursery work and fire protection work. They should also be given the work of construction of roads and buildings in the forest areas, when not engaged in forest work. To achieve this objective, the forest labourers' cooperative societies, which cannot get enough work for the whole year by working forest coupes, should be considered a labour contract society and provided with the work of roads and buildings in forest areas, and no new labour contract societies should be formed in the area, unless the existing forest labourers' cooperative societies are unable to cope up with the volume of work.

However, societies have made some progress in the elimination of exploitative practices such as begging, illicit fellings, undefined hours of work, and deduction of wages for irrelevant and doubtful purposes to which the tribal labour was subjected by the forest contractors.

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Service and Surveillance in Probation

K.D. Sikka

PROBATION as it is understood in the field of corrections, is a method of treating selected offenders in the community as contrasted with the traditional method of subjecting them to institutionalisation. Through this humanitarian method of administering justice, dual function of protecting the society and helping the offender's rehabilitation is sought to be achieved. "As a substitute for imprisonment, it is in large measure a counselling service which emphasises guidance and supportive supervision. Its objective is to develop positive social attitudes and behaviour in offenders while preventing the stigma of incarceration and the breaking-up of family units".¹

LEGAL POSITION

Although the eligibility of offenders for probation is determined by statutory provisions, the degree to which these statutes regulate the selection varies. In the United States, for example, in most of the states the probation laws limit the grant of probation by such factors as the type of offence, prior convictions, or whether the defendant was armed at the time of offence. Fifteen states have no such restrictions. But the offenders guilty of rape and murder are most widely excluded from probation consideration in that country.²

Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, which is now in force in twenty of our states and union territories, in the majority of their

¹B.A. Kay, and C.B. Vedder, (eds.), *Probation and Parole*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1974, p. 88.

²R.M. Carter and L.T. Wilkins, (eds.) *Probation and Parole: Selected Readings*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1970, p. 32.

districts,³ first offenders charged for theft, cheating, misappropriation or any other offence punishable with imprisonment for not more than two years or five or both are eligible for admonition. And any person having been found guilty of an offence not punishable with death or imprisonment for life can be released on probation of good conduct, with or without supervision of the probation officer. However, when such a person is under twenty-one years of age and the court is not inclined towards release on probation of good conduct, it shall record its reasons for doing so, after calling for a report from the probation officer and considering the report, if any. In all the above situations consideration is expected to be given by the court to the circumstances of the case including the nature of the offence and the character of the offender.

In the rest of the country, section 360 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973⁴ is applicable under which 'admonition provisions' are similar to those of the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958. However, (i) any person under twentyone years, and (ii) a woman convicted of an offence not punishable with death or imprisonment for life, or (iii) any person above twentyone years, convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term of seven years or less, is eligible for release on probation of good conduct. There are no provisions for social investigation or probation supervision. Although section 360 Cr. P.C. is additionally restrictive in the sense that there must be no previous conviction against the offender (P.O. Act requires it to be only in cases of admonition) section 361 mandates that where provisions of section 360 are not applied, the court shall record its special reasons for not having done so.⁵ However, since no comprehensive guidelines on the basis of which the lower courts may grant or deny probation have been issued by the High Courts the liberal use of the provisions implied in this section of the code and the P.O. Act do not seem to be receiving due consideration. On the other hand, it is also alleged that in certain pockets, the probation provisions are inappropriately applied to obtain quick disposal of cases: on the 'informal' assurance of probation, the

³As per the information available, on personal query, from the National Institute of Social Defence, New Delhi, 1980; Total districts covered being 343.

⁴However, certain special acts like the suppression of Immoral Traffic Act and the Prohibition acts exclude the use of release on admonition or on good conduct for specific offences under them.

⁵There is woeful lack of reasonably recent All India or even state level data about the extent of the use of the probation provisions under the P.O. Act. or Cr. P.C. However, in Bombay, only 1069 cases were referred by courts under the P.O. Act for social investigation during 1977-78, from among them 457 were given the benefit and a mere 37 were placed under probation supervision. The respective figures for the year 1978-79 were 1004, 223 and 23. The general impression is that a very limited use of the provisions is being made by the judiciary. Minimally, state level research studies are urgently needed to find out the reasons and suggest remedial measures.

SOURCE: Maharashtra State Probation and Aftercare Association Annual Reports, 1977-78 and 1978-79.

alleged offender is prompted to admit the charge. It has to be scrupulously appreciated by the bench and the bar that probation has to remain selective to be effective and has not to be allowed to become a 'let-off' for facilitating fast disposals of court cases.

While within the eligibility frameworks in various countries, although the offence does influence the judge's decision to grant probation in place of imprisonment, the expectation of the statutes generally is that the decision will be on the basis of findings revealed through pre-sentence report of a probation officer. Additionally, the facts surrounding some cases may warrant the release of the offender only with a reprimand, or on his own undertaking to be of good behaviour. And in such cases imposition of supervision by the probation officer may be considered unnecessary or unwise by certain courts.

The use of probation in juvenile cases is rarely restrictive by statute. Under the Bombay Children Act, 1948, as also under the Children Act (Central), 1960, there are no statutory limitations for grant of probation with or without supervision, to children brought before the Juvenile Court or the Child Welfare Board. And so far as the treatment techniques and methods of working with supervisees are concerned, these are, in principle the same with adults and children. The additional factor in case of children on probation, however, is that the parents/guardians are also a party to the bond conditions. [Section 72(ii) of the Bombay Children Act, 1948, and section 21-1/c of the Children Act, 1960, for example].

SERVICE AND SURVEILLANCE

Judging by the practices followed and the results achieved in the developed probation units around the world, it can be safely said that probation treatment has all the potentialities of accomplishing the social regeneration of many offenders and side by side of enhancing the safety of the society, provided it is appropriately planned and executed. "As probation seeks to combine some authoritarian control over the behaviour of the probationer (especially supervisee) during the probation period, one of the legal duties of the supervisory officers is to be the custodian of public security and to ensure during his supervision that probationer does not go astray or violate any of the conditions prescribed in the probation order. . . . The therapeutic aids, material, social and emotional should be used to help in this process of rehabilitation. . . . While minor deviations, in the initial stage, need not disrupt the probation supervision, the probation officer has to be vigilant to ensure that the trust vested in him by the court is not stretched to a point where the society may suffer".⁶

⁶J.H. Shah, *Studies in Criminology: Probation Services in India*, N.M. Tripathi Private Limited, Bombay, 1973, pp. 31-32.

For the effective realisation of the goals of society's security through probationers' rehabilitation, certain treatment strategies will have to be devised and deployed in which the probationer, the family, the neighbourhood, the school, college, and/or the employer are all important links for achieving successful results.

Plan of Treatment

"Inasmuch as there can be a generally accepted picture of the way in which a social worker operates, this usually represents him as extending help in some way or other, to a client who has come because he has a problem. . . . But the distinguishing feature of help extended through a probation order is that the client's element of choice in the matter is often camouflaged, since this is made for him by the court. He is therefore sometimes referred to as the unwilling client⁷". Appreciating this situation, the probation officer will need to explain in sufficient details the conditions and purposes of the bond, and as to how this framework will guide both the probationer and the probation officer.

After explaining the conditions and defining the problem, the probation officer should find out as to what steps, if any, the probationer intends to take himself toward a solution. But to expect him to cope alone with a situation which proved too difficult for him would be unwise and unfair. In working out a plan for the future life of the individual, it should be recognised that he accepts it as his own if he is not to abandon it after the probation period. Even if much wiser plan than the probationer could devise is brought to his attention, unless his honest acceptance of it is secured, it has to be replaced by his own. Trial and error enters here and one of the lessons that the probation officer has to master is that the probationer must learn by his own experiences, sometimes from his own mistakes, to make a wise choice. To have learned this lesson thoroughly may be worth the risk of many small failures.

Probably no deficiency is more apparent in current programmes of probation treatment than the nearly complete lack of careful planning by probation officers to develop systematically the plans that are carefully tailored for each offender, albeit with active participation of the offenders themselves.

Flexibility of the Plan

The plan so devised must be subject to modifications from time to time. The incoming further information, factors, and experiences during the treatment processes would be helpful in this respect. Investigative process is not to end with the submission of pre-sentence report to the court; it should continue all along during supervision. The success of any plan, therefore,

⁷M. Monger, *Case Work in Probation*, Butterworth and Company, London, 1964, p. 44.

will largely depend on the ability of the officer to correlate the relevant facts, to modify the plan wisely, and on his capacity to win the genuine co-operation of his probationer. Although, in the eyes of the probationer, the probation officer may continue to represent the court, and in fact it is one of his responsibilities to do so, still the officer through a person-to-person relationship can amply demonstrate that authority can also be helpful, and need not always remain frustrating.

Basic Tools for Treatment

The basic tools employed in treatment processes are mainly probationer's reporting to the officer and the latter visiting probationer's home, community, employment place, and/or school, vocational centre or college. Although the probation officer's task through these contacts is to 'advise, assist and befriend' those placed in his care, probation supervision is also "an expression of society's concern for individuals who break the law. The probation officer is a living representative of that concern... to exercise sufficient restraint over the probationer to promote the protection of society."⁸ Finding a balance between surveillance and treatment has always been considered problematic. However, most of the authorities in the field feel that these two concepts are not antithetical; with reasonable skills on the part of the probation officer they can be sufficiently integrated.

Personal Reporting : Probationer's reporting is accomplished in two ways, namely: (i) written reports sent periodically by the probationer to his officer by post, and (ii) personal reporting. According to the Attorney General's Survey⁹ "written reports constitute the least satisfactory method although not altogether worthless. Where the onus is on the probationer of writing an account of his activities at regular intervals, he himself may gain some advantage from the self-evaluation involved. Except for this purpose, use of the written report should be avoided wherever possible".

The greatest importance of personal reporting consists in assisting the probation officer to maintain continuity of contacts with the probationer. Although the statements of the probationer cannot always be trusted and must be checked by outside investigation, these reports certainly furnish information upon which investigations may be based. Where case loads are particularly heavy, the formal reporting enables the officer to see a much larger number of probationers in a given period than does any other method. Further, personal reporting provides opportunity for privacy in the office which may not be secured at any other place. But this reporting will have to be of a very limited value if it amounts to nothing more than weekly or fortnightly attendance so that his compliance with

⁸J.F.S. King, *The Probation Service*, Butterworth and Company, London, 1958, p. 79.

⁹United States, Department of Justice, *The Attorney Generals' Survey of Release Procedures, Probation—Volume II*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939, pp. 297-98.

the reporting condition be noted. Regretfully, the position today in our probation offices leaves much to be desired.

To be effective, treatment must be administered by the probation officer on a case work basis, using 'relationship' as the main pivot and 'interview' as the medium; the value of probationary treatment is considered to be significantly dependent "on the nature and quality of the personal relationship established between the probation officer and the probationer".¹⁰ Reporting should mean a friendly conference and an opportunity for considering problems, helping the probationer to make proper decisions, providing insights about his own share of responsibility, and assessing progress in attaining the objectives of supervision. However, the objects of such conferences can be adequately achieved only when the office facilities are adequate and the probation officer devotes sufficient time to each interview. Such interviews should be, as far as possible, in surroundings that invite confidence. Probationer is expected to reveal his innermost thoughts during such meetings and if he is required to do so within both sight and ear-shot of others, it is not likely that he will open up.

The formal reporting must not be considered useful only as a tacit reminder to the probationer that he is under supervision but also for helping him to form a habit of accounting for himself to someone more knowledgeable.

Home Visits: Important as personal reporting is, the visit by the officer to his home is of even greater importance. It is in the probationer's own family that the problem of re-establishing a normal social status has first to be solved. Usually the family is resentful of the bad name upon their reputation brought by the delinquent's act. Often the family is also sceptical as to the possibilities of improvement on the part of their black sheep. One of the principal duties of the officer is that of harmonising the family relationships. In many instances he can do this by his friendship, guidance, advice, and by interpreting the probationer's conduct to the family members.

"It is felt in some circles that the professional relationship can be better established by the client coming to worker's office, but there, too, probation officers have learned from experience that home visiting has a special value in relation to delinquents. So many offenders have been deprived as children and still bear the scars of deprivation. This makes them doubt their own worth. In their homes, surrounded by their possessions, however poor, they have some sense of security and may be more relaxed and, therefore, freer to take part in the relationship. This may be symbolised by their offering a cup of tea, the probation officer's acceptance of which conveys acceptance of them."¹¹

¹⁰Kay and Vedder, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹¹King, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

Cooperation between the officer and the family is equally very essential in the interests of the probationer. When the family group feels, apparently, no interest in him, attempts must be made to foster it. It must not be assumed too readily that because the parents or family members do not appear sympathetic they have, therefore, no interest in him. As soon as they realise that the officer is taking genuine interest and is capable of understanding and appreciating not only the probationer's problems, but also the difficulties of the family, cooperation is usually assured. Nonetheless, any discussion with the family of probationer's failings or shortcomings should not take place in his presence, and when admonition is necessary the latter should be seen alone.

'Family' as a Treatment Unit : "Few would challenge the all important role of the family as the universal social institution that nurtures, protects, and shapes the individual from infancy to independence. The dysfunctional, inadequate or broken family emerges as a principal source of delinquency. Particularly in the case of preadolescent or early adolescent the effort to strengthen the family function is of prime importance".¹² However, under the narrow conception of probation treatment, scant effort is devoted to general family rehabilitation. Where the problems and needs of the entire family are not considered by the supervising officer, supervision may fail to realise its possibilities since the offender cannot make the desired social adjustment under the continuing unfavourable conditions of an unhealthy home situation.

During these home visits usually the lid comes off and the probationer and his parents and relations express their true feelings about each other. The probation officer can thus better understand the family situation and, with his help, the family may be able to clear up some of the misunderstandings, and try to jointly find ways to deal with the problems.

Again, during these visits, the officer will be called upon to give advice upon a variety of subjects affecting the family. Though it is obviously impossible for him to possess specialised knowledge dealing with every aspect of human relationship, it is nonetheless necessary for him to be in a position to discuss all the needs of the family. He must know the various social agencies, public bodies, religious organisations, and charitable institutions functioning in the area, for necessary referral. He need not, and as a matter of fact should not, undertake services for probationers or their families which other agencies are better equipped to furnish. But he should always try to be the mediating link between them.

Employment: Perhaps no other factor is so closely associated with the outcome of probation treatments as employment. Employment for probationers, presents at once the probation officer's greatest single aid in

¹²Carter and Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

probation treatment and is one of his most difficult problems. Many of the offenders when released on probation are unemployed. The probation officer is confronted with the fact that whereas there is practically little work for the average man, how can work be found for this special class who usually have no adequate education or technical training and/or poor work record, besides the fact of conviction being an additional handicap. They are generally unskilled and unaccustomed to hard work. Nevertheless, many opportunities for job placements have been found by probation officers, through their individual efforts, by contacting employers directly. This reliance on individual initiative no doubt places a heavy burden on each officer and there is a strongly felt need for the special 'Placement Service' at least in every large probation unit. Probation Committees should be able to help in this regard by promoting the cooperation of employers of all types. Although the rules framed by most of the state governments under the P.O. Act have stipulated that such committees should be formed, just a handful have been formed, and, among them only a very few are functioning effectively.

Besides appreciating the truth of the saying that idleness is devil's workshop, employment does several important things for the probationer:

- (i) It keeps him off the streets during working hours.
- (ii) The tangible returns improve his economic status and enable him to satisfy ordinary needs legitimately.
- (iii) The resultant improvement of economic status increases not only his self-respect but the esteem among his family, neighbours, and associates.

It is admitted that employment has its most favourable reaction upon the probationer only when he is engaged in work which is interesting to him. But when all jobs are at a premium, any work, not otherwise harmful, must be taken up and that too as soon as possible. Where there is a State Employment Service, it can be frequently of assistance, but the probation officer will have to, and often does struggle, mostly single-handedly, to stimulate his ward's interest in work and assist him in finding a productive place in the economic scheme.

Special care will have to be exercised in dealing with employers if the offender's standing is not to be jeopardised. Many officers avoid visiting employers except in cases of emergency or unless they are certain that the employers' status as probationer is already known. On the other hand, the advisability of keeping employer in ignorance of the probationer's conviction is questionable, for it is reasonably to suppose that this knowledge can be imparted more tactfully and with less danger of removal, by the probation officer than by others. Frequently, employers, once advised of the situation, gladly co-operate with the officer, keeping him

informed of the probationer's industrial habits and conduct. Even here, the officer has to exercise discretion and care in planning visits, so that, he does not interfere unduly with the conduct of business.

A pamphlet, indicating in brief the salient features and methods of probation scheme, when left with the employer or teacher or others whose assistance probation departments seek, could be of significant help in stimulating their interest in and understanding of probation.

The School/College: "Next to that of the home, the school has the most vital influence in a child's life. Children spend a large part of most days in school (or vocational training centres) and their attitudes to authority, learning, work and their fellows can be made or marred by their experiences there. On this account, it is particularly important for the probation officer to work in close cooperation with the schools attended by those in his care. Delinquents may not be pupils of whom the school is proud, but as a result of a greater understanding of their needs and of how to meet them, which grows out of the cooperation between the probation officer and the head teacher, the delinquent may be better able to take his place in the school, community and be freer to learn"¹³. It is well understood that behavioural difficulties along with failure in school, training institute or college frequently lead to truancy and then to dropping out or expulsion. Some strategies, with the co-operation of teachers/instructors and parents, have to be devised by the probation officer which could increase the competence of the probationer to participate more effectively in these programmes. This may need to be achieved through the provision of necessary books and other equipment, special coaching, extra attention of the class teachers, and instructor, and where facilities exist, through the counselling provided by the school social workers and college counsellor.

At times, establishing a relationship with Head Master and/or class teacher for the benefit of the probationer is far from easy. After all, persons on probation may be a probation officer's reason for existence, but to the institution they are the failures, and he has to balance, as the officer has not, the needs of one delinquent against those of his class or school. Nevertheless, it is not an uncommon experience that the officer finds among these personnel those who are understanding and sympathetic and will not grudge going even out of their way to help the probationer adjust. These individuals are a valuable source of assistance which must be explored and utilised.

Frequency of Contacts: The knowledge the officer seeks in the personal reporting of the probationer and by visits to his home, neighbourhood, employment place and school, etc., is not for purposes of surveillance and discipline alone. It is also for understanding on the basis of which he may plan and act intelligently. Though the frequency of such contacts must

¹³King, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

depend on individual needs, besides employing with mandatory requirements prescribed by rules, these should be continuous and systematic. They must be constructive and not merely the opportunities for polite enquiry or carrying out perfunctorily the orders of the Court.

Admittedly, these contacts must be arranged and conducted in furtherance of the plan of treatment which aims at the complete reformation of the probationer. Although while conducting visits it has to be seen that the probationer's unfortunate situation is not aggravated. Certain checks and counterchecks are important, since the human mind to give the best results needs some sort of control as well assistance and recognition.

Time and Skills

Redirection and re-education of those who have demonstrated antisocial and illegal behaviour or understandably complicated matters requiring both time and skills. And it is the feeling that in many instances the pressure of heavy case loads of 'time-bound' enquiry reports and other administrative work leave little opportunity for supervision and guidance. Although in some cases the minimal type of control and guidance may be adequate, where problems of adjustment to the home, employment or vocational educational institution, or neighbourhood exist it is questionable whether any value will be derived from infrequent contacts.

Picture at the national level as to how much importance is given by the probation officers to treatment *per se* is not available. However, as far as it can be discerned by looking at the comparative time spent by probation officers in supervision work in a few of the states, the situation does not appear that gloomy. Some of the project reports by students at the Tata Institute¹⁴ have attempted to elicit information on the issue of time spent on various activities by the probation officers. According to those reports,

¹⁴Project Reports submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master of Arts Degree in Social Work with specialisation in Criminology and Correctional Administration, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay; 1968, 1969, 1970, 1972. The data were collected through mailed questionnaires from the States of Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The information sought was on average time spent by the probation officers on investigation, supervision, case recording, administration and other work.

M. R. Ahmed, *A Study of Probation Investigation in Assam Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, 1968*; D. Badhia, *A Study of Probation Investigation in Gujarat Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1938, 1969*; N.C. Ghosh, *A Study of Probation Investigation in the State of West Bengal Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, 1969*; B.D. Khisti, *A Study of Probation Supervision in the State of Maharashtra Under the Bombay Children Act, 1948, 1970*; B.C. Patil, *A Study of Probation Supervision in Mysore Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, 1972*; S.R. Saikia, *A Study of Probation Supervision in Assam Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, 1968*; S.P. Shahane, *A Study of Probation Supervision in the State of Maharashtra Under the Bombay Probation of Offenders Act, 1938, 1970*; and S.R. Sharma, *A Study of Probation Supervision in Rajasthan Under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, 1972*.

average number of hours per week put in by officers (statewise) works out to be 59.5 (Minimum 49: Maximum 69). The average time spent on supervision work, including travelling, comes to 13.2 hours per week, *i.e.*, 22.1 per cent, and the time spent on investigation work, including travel, being 16.6 hours, *i.e.*, 27.7 per cent. The remaining time (50.2 per cent) is consumed by case recording, administration and other work.

This does not, however, mean that at least in certain locations the difficulty of finding time for probation treatment is not always genuine. In Bombay,¹⁵ for example, the workload of pre-sentence investigations was pretty heavy. With one district probation officer and six probation officers (the strength is raised to 148 since 1978-79), the investigations conducted during 1973-74 and 1974-75 were 1149 and 1317 respectively (average per probation officer per year: 176).¹⁶ Additionally, in those two years, pre-lisence enquiries conducted for Borstal lads were 116, besides there being, on an average, 35 Borstal lads under supervision.

The position regarding probation supervision load can be seen from the following Table:

	1973-74	1974-75
No. of cases under supervision as on the first day of the year.	43	68
No. of cases placed under supervision during the year.	71	50
No. of cases closed as 'Successful'.	34	46
No. of cases closed as 'Failure'.	8	23
No. of cases transferred to other jurisdictions.	3	2
Closed as supervisee expired.	1	—
No. of cases on supervision on the last day of the year.	68	46

Another student project report¹⁷ of the Department of Criminology and Correctional Administration submitted in 1971 at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences made a study of 40 ex-probationers (closed as 'successful' during 1964-1969) under Bombay probation of Offenders Act, 1938, at Bombay, and elicited information from the respondents about the number

¹⁵ *Annual Reports for the years 1973-74 and 1974-75*, Maharashtra State Probation and Aftercare Association, Poona.

¹⁶ "There are a total of 379 Probation officers in the country. During 1968-69, over 51,000 enquiries were made by Probation Officers and 13,782 probationers were under supervision." Pamphlet '*Probation Year—1971*' published by the Central Bureau of Correctional Services, New Delhi. (The strength of probation officers is said to be now about 500).

¹⁷ V. B. Koandekar, *A Study of Ex-Supervisees Under the Probation of Offenders Act in Greater Bombay*.

of contacts they had with the probation officers during their supervision periods. The average number of visits paid by the supervisees at the probation officer during the one year of probation supervision was reported to be 8 (Minimum 1 : Maximum 12 and above) and average home visits by the officer was given as 3.5 (Maximum 12: Minimum 0). The data available is indicative of insufficient contacts in most of the cases. Nine respondents had stated that the probation officer had not come to their homes at all during the supervision period and in cases of mere 5 of the 35 employed supervisees, probation officers had paid visits to their employment places only twice. The fact that these cases were closed as 'successful' by itself cannot be sufficient indication of the quality of service either.

When there is rush for investigation reports, the supervisee who may be badly in need of counselling is indeed fortunate if the harried probation officer, recognising his need, can devote the necessary time to the interview and other contacts. Working under such conditions, the officer is usually in a hurry, and perhaps forgivably, impatient. There is usually no time with him for counselling the supervisee and little time even to be cordial.

The time element is important but more important than that is the skills of probation officers. Here again, no reliable information on nationwide standards is at hand. Whatever information is available suggests that the standards vary from place to place.

The two week training courses sponsored by the National Institute of Social Defence, New Delhi, for the last about 10 years and conducted by various agencies in different parts of the country are a welcome effort in the right direction. But it is now time that their impact is evaluated and requisite modifications made in the light of the results. However, the state government should encourage larger deputation of their officers to full-fledged training institutes.

Leisure-time Activities

Another important function of probation treatment and yet one which is frequently neglected, is the process of re-education which will assist in the creation of new relationships and the better utilisation of the periods not spent in school, workshop or other gainful activity. To wean the probationer away from his demoralising associates and dangerous pursuits is, more than anything else, a process of substitution. It is, however, a difficult process since the offender is, naturally enough, unwilling to relinquish his old associates or to abandon familiar haunts. To the majority of probationers the amusements and leisure-time activities recommended by the probation officer in the beginning undoubtedly lack excitement and glamour. But if the probationer's social attitudes are to be changed, his group relations will have to be changed and enlarged. Through the

use of repeated suggestions and by arousing his curiosity and interest, he will have to be induced to experiment with new types of recreation. And for this purpose, the officer will have to be familiar with the recreational facilities like libraries, vyayamshalas, and other recreational centres available in the locality. Cooley¹⁸ has very ably reminded us, that "recreational ideation and habits are extremely difficult to change. Delinquent's concept of recreation in many instances is limited and in some cases rarely extends beyond the crude interests of alcohol, sex, and gambling. Consequently in such cases it is only after slow, painstaking effort that an improvement in leisure-time pursuits can be effected".

Physical and Mental Health

The significant influence which an offender's health—both physical and mental—exerts upon him cannot be ignored. Frequently, apparent laziness and 'lack of interest' of the probationer have a physical basis and can be corrected only by medical care. Moreover, in many instances physical handicaps may induce in the offender a sense of inferiority which may come in the way of his social adjustment. Further, if the probation officer is not aware of the mental capacity of his charge, he may contemplate a plan with objectives which are beyond attainment of that particular case. The result of demanding too high a standard of performance, though with sincere intentions and attempts, will result in disappointment for the officer and discouragement and loss of interest in the probationer. The officer should make his supervisee aware of the facilities available in the community and persuade him to take advantage of them. He should be assisted but bearing in mind the dangers of undue dependence. Attempts must be made to inculcate initiative and self-reliance in the probationer.

PROBATION OFFICER AS A SOCIAL WORKER

The probation officer is in a peculiar position. He is an officer of the Court: he is also a social worker. There may not be any conflict in principle between these two facets although occasions may arise when he has to subordinate his feelings as a social worker. As his function is to befriend and guide the probationer, so is his function to protect society. If the probationer does not or will not follow the conditions of the bond and correct his behaviour, it is the officer's business and duty to return him to the Court for sentence or other treatment as the court may determine. At the same time, however, "he must avoid the temptation to achieve temporary results by the comparatively easy method of exploiting the

¹⁸E.J. Cooley, *Probation and Delinquency*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, New York, 9 27, p. 136.

fears of the probationer through constant reiteration of the consequences of wrong doing. Such a method though often does prevent a recurrence of the offence during the period of probation, but with the removal of restraint a relapse is probable, thus defeating the whole object of supervision".¹⁹

Probation treatment should provide kindly and constructive contacts. As per the U.N. publication,²⁰ it "should be clearly distinguished from police supervision : the latter implies mere watchfulness on the part of the authorities charged with maintenance of law and order, whereas probationary supervision always implies a personal relationship between the probationer and the officer who exercises supervision. Probationary supervision, as a personal relationship between probationer and probation officer, necessarily has both negative and positive implications. On the negative side, it has essentially the use of legal authority for the protection of the probationer, 'from unwise use of personal freedom' and as such it is an authoritarian, restrictive, and disciplinary measure. The principal emphasis does not fall on this element of probationary supervision, however, but on the fact that it always involves individualised guidance and assistance of some kind. Whatever the effectiveness of the techniques used, probationary supervision is characterised by educational, therapeutic, and rehabilitative objectives. Indeed, the authoritarian or disciplinary aspects of probationary supervision are hardly separable from the more positive and constructive measures which may be grouped together under the term 'treatment'."

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it must be stated that probation treatment is to a great extent what the probation officer makes it. Of course, without ignoring the situations and personalities of probationers, "it is obvious that the positive success or comparative failure of the probation system ultimately depends, as must all systems upon those who work it. The wisest laws, even when they are used with the utmost care and intelligence by the courts, can only bring forth the full fruits of which they are capable of, if they are administered by officers who understand their nature, and carry them out, not merely in the dead letter but in the living spirit."²¹ As Cooley²² recommended long ago, "the probation officer should be a person of good educational background, of special training in social work, and should bring to his task a warm sympathy and a deep-rooted respect for the human person-

¹⁹L. Le Mesurier, (ed.), *A Handbook of Probation and Social Work of the Courts*, The National Association of Probation Officers, London, 1935, p. 131.

²⁰United Nations, *Probation and Related Measures*, U.N. Department of Social Affairs, New York, 1951, p. 6.

²¹Le Mesurier (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²²Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

ality. Unless he possesses a genuine liking for people as he finds them, he cannot expect to understand and guide human character and conduct. The probation officer, to function effectively, should appreciate the profound importance of his task and have a genuine devotion to it".

Probation treatment as outlined above is the most constructive way of dealing with selected offenders and at the same time safeguarding the interests of society. But unless it is well administered by competent people, adequate in number, and equipped with necessary skills, knowledge, and judgment, much of the values inherent in this process are lost. As a matter of fact, when carelessly or incompetently done, it may actually become a liability rather than an asset to both offender and the society. □

Urbanisation: Development Priorities and Policy Alternatives

R.K. Wishwakarma

URBANISATION has assumed a critical process both as a pre-requisite for and as a result of social and economic development since the planned development began in the country. Historically, all complex and advanced civilisations have sprung from city, and in the contemporary world, urban life is the dynamic basis for most of the activities and processes we as-sociate with modernisation, economic development and social progress. The dynamic spread of urbanisation implies the "rapidity of change and economic improvement of the possibility of using 'hitherto urban' community facilities and of obtaining the latest information inexpensively in any part of the country without any time lag. Changes in the regional social and economic structure generated as a result of these developments may also be regarded as a part of urbanisation."¹ The very existence of economic development helps in the growth process of urbanisation. Increased spurt in economic activity and the spread of industrialism as against the paradoxes of Asian 'Nationalism' led to the breakdown of traditionalism and its age long institutions. The norms and values underwent change sometimes even before the impact of industrialism was felt. The process of urbanisation thus had been a glowing tribute as a socio-cultural phenomenon 'invading the privacy of a hermit and quiet of a village hut.'

INDIA'S URBANISATION

Looking at the size and magnitude of India's urbanisation, of 586 million population, the share of urban population of 120 million (or 20 per

¹Shigeruito, "The Future of Japanese Archipelago: Coordination of Studies of and Strategies for Regional Development", *JCADR*, March, 1969, p. 7.

cent) today, is not so alarming. In term of its proportional base, it is only one-fifth of the total population. But the rate of growth of urban population is quite striking. During the past decade, it has increased from 26.41 per cent in 1961 to 38.24 per cent in 1971. In terms of its sheer size, urban India ranks as the third largest country in the world, next only to urban USA and urban USSR. As recorded in 1901, the number of towns was 1910 with a total population of 25.85 million. The urban population had thus more than quadrupled from 25.85 million (1901) to 109.09 million (1971), adding 1,211 more towns and a population of 83 million (1971). Such a gigantic mass of urban humanity is spread over an area of 43.6 thousand sq. kms. giving an urban density of 2,505 persons per sq. km. and a per capita availability of urban land of 0.00396 sq. km., as of 1971.

The distribution of urban population in 3,126 urban settlements of varying sizes and dimensions, account for 150 class I cities including 9 metropolitan cities, 221 class II towns, 652 class III, 988 Class IV, 822 Class V and 287 Class VI towns, as of 1971.² (Table 1) With a 3.8 per cent growth rate in urban population per annum, the process of urbanisation is expected to accelerate, even more. India's urban future at the turn of century will place the urban-rural ratio at 4:7 as against 1:4 in 1971. The estimated number of urban settlements would increase from 3121 in 1971 to 5,230 mainly in the size range 20,000 to 1,00,000 (Table 2). This pace of urban growth is posing unprecedented challenges for national and urban policy makers.

The poor economic base of our cities indicates that the uncontrolled urbanisation without commensurate development in infrastructural facilities has the "natural inclination of many big and prestigious employment generating bodies such as government offices, business houses, financial institutions and traders alongwith professionals and other self-employed"³ to get concentrated in large cities. The situation is being aggravated by the informal growth of industries and their concentration in urban areas degrading the environment and the plight of urban poor in the broader process of consolidation of urbanisation. This in turn attracts a large number of rural unemployed and under-employed new migrants to get absorbed in the stream of urban labour force, but finding it difficult, they try to get self-employed as part or full time workers, casual workers in trade, commerce and services or in the 'romaniticised' delights of the informal sector and thereby resulting the informal sector growth and also the growth of urban poor.

²*Census of India*, General Population Tables, Part II, II-A(1), 1971.

³Government of India, Planning Commission, *Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, 1978-83* (Revised), p. 222.

TABLE 1 GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN TOWNS AND CITIES BY SIZE-GROUP, 1961-71

Census classification of towns and cities	1961		1971		Decadal variation 1961-71	
	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Popula- tion		
					No. of towns	% growth in popula- tion
Metropolitan Cities (Million+)	7	14.23	8	20.77	1	45.97
5 lakh to 1 million	5	3.24	9	6.12	4	88.48
1 lakh to 5 lakh	95	17.65	134	26.49	39	45.97
50,000 to 1,00,000	139	9.53	221	14.71	82	54.38
20,000 to 50,000	518	15.75	652	19.95	134	26.65
10,000 to 20,000	820	11.30	988	13.97	168	23.67
5,000 to 10,000	848	6.34	322	6.20	-26	-2.20
Below 5,000	268	0.89	296	0.90	18	1.37
TOTAL	2,700	78.94	3,126	109.11	426	38.23

SOURCE: *Census of India*, General Population Tables Part II-A(1), 1971.

TABLE 2 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS (RURAL-URBAN) DURING 1971-2001

Urban	1971		2001	
	Number	Population (in millions)	Number	Population (in millions)
10,000 and above	150	53.2	250	165.0
50,000-1,00,000	221	14.8	880	66.0
20,000-50,000	652	20.0	1,900	66.0
Below 20,000	2,097	21.1	2,200	33.0
Total Urban Rural	3,121*	109.1	5,230	330.0
10,000 and above	1,358	22.3	3,500	52.0
5,000-10,000	4,974	32.7	8,500	60.0
1,000-5,000	1,17,908	217.6	1,78,000	350.0
500-1,000	1,31,876	94.4	1,40,000	100.0
Below 500	3,18,602	71.9	1,90,000	47.0
Total Rural	5,75,721†	438.9	5,20,000	615.0

*Includes Badrinath of Chamauli District, U.P.

†Includes three villages of Manipur for which information is not available.

SOURCE: R.K. Wishwakarma, "Human Settlement Policy for 2001 A.D.," *The Economic Times*, March 25, 1977, p. 5.

DEVELOPMENT CONSTRAINTS

A demographic appraisal of urban growth rates indicates that the population of medium size towns was much higher than urban growth rate as a whole in 1961 but slightly less in 1971 which has increased very marginally. There is also an indication that lower order towns within medium size towns are showing more rapid growth than their counterparts high order cities.⁴ Despite the pursuit of some conscious policies all through the five year development plans, the largest cities in terms of absolute numbers, are growing fastest and the tendencies for urban growth and rural-urban migration have continued without much change. And as a consequence your cities still show the symptoms of "urban blight through slum settlements, grossly inadequate services, over crowding, traffic jams, ribbon development, crumbling old city centres, many of which may be of great historic and architectural interest, derelict neighbourhood, insanitary backyards and poor maintenance of buildings and other civic services."⁵ These resultant effects seem to appear due to the existence of some inherent constraints in development process and environment of planning administration, such as : (i) the lack of comprehensiveness, fragmented and uncoordinated nature of planning; (ii) the limited capability of administrators and planners particularly at the local level to tackle the problems of planning and plan administration, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, due to lack of training in service and academic instruction on serious problems; (iii) the limited availability of resources did not allow the planners and decision makers to give top priority for urban development and which has been responsible for lack of infrastructure and development of efficient network of transport; (iv) the urban information systems have not been developed to provide adequate data base for planning; and (v) there is almost no comprehensive rural-urban land policy to relate the legal and financial aspects of land acquisition to the construction requirements.

Taking note of the above constraints, it is felt that much depends on the management capability and entrepreneurship found in government departments, development agencies and other authorities responsible to carry the task of development. The resource management problem and the need for fresh initiatives and policy directions require concerted efforts: (i) to delineate the responsibilities and functions of the urban local authorities; (ii) to ensure effective coordination of activities within the city; (iii) to upgrade their planning and technical capacities; and

⁴K.V. Sundaram, P.K.S. Nair, R.K. Wishwakarma, "Some Aspects of Demographic Analysis of Medium size Towns in India, *Nagarloka*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July-September, 1976, p. 15.

⁵*The Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, op. cit.*, p. 222.

(iv) to improve coordination and intergovernmental fiscal relations between urban local bodies, state governments and national agencies.⁶

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES

The growth of urbanisation poses unprecedented challenges for national and municipal policy makers to decide some priorities for action to comprehend the social forces of urbanisation. The August issue of the World Development Report has extensively dealt with this aspect of the problem and fixes the following urbanisation priorities for action:⁷

- The first priority is to minimise the demographic pressures on rural land and its resources by improving the living conditions and broadly based agricultural development.
- The second priority is the elimination of large city biases in government policies with respect to public investment, transport, and energy pricing to ensure balanced urban growth.
- The third priority is to devise and implement policies to encourage the efficient and equitable growth of cities.
- The fourth priority is instead of bulldozing slums, banning street vendors from public places, urban investment policies should be so designed to meet the needs of urban population, including the poor, at low cost and at the same time maintaining traditional community values.
- The fifth priority needs to be shifted in favour of expanding public transport, making traditional modes of transport—including bicycles and walking easier, and constructing access routes for buses and service routes in poor neighbourhoods to maintain the quality of life in urban environment.
- The sixth priority is that if education and health services are to reach the majority of urban dwellers, similar shifts in favour of low cost and replicable delivery systems may be necessary.
- The seventh priority is of imparting adequate training and education to development administrators and planners to develop their management capability and entrepreneurship for an effective plan administration.

Considering these priorities, policy directions should be laid down to eliminate impediments to private initiative and provide those elements of housing and social welfare services—sites, low cost water, sanitation and related services, security of land tenure and housing loans—which the

⁶The World Bank, *The World Bank Report*, August, 1979, pp. 112-113.

⁷*Ibid.*

private sector is least able to supply. Since the tradition of private enterprise in the provision of social welfare services persists in spite of the welfare state, the two are bound to coexist for a long time to come... because of the peculiar roles and appeals of each sector⁸ in the development process.

POLICY ALTERNATIVES

Urbanisation and city growth are an integral part of a more general process of transition which includes the changing balance between the agricultural, the industrial and the commercial sectors, as well as rapid changes in cultural, social and political conditions in most of the developing countries. The speed of transition is far more vigorous and intensive than experienced elsewhere in developed countries.⁹ Since problems of urban development differ from country to country and across cities within the country, it necessitates an objective criterion to evaluate an urban policy, alternative to fix up priorities for action which could also resolve the conflicting claims of both growth and equity in the face of "new mounting demands which impose new responsibilities upon government and administration."¹⁰

In our urban areas a sizable proportion of unemployed and low income underemployed population of the rural labour force, which continues to grow despite the economic stagnation, and physical deterioration with which it is beset, fill the low paid, physically most demanding and least desired jobs. This calls for an alternative set of objectives to increase the overall efficiency of urban growth and removal of poverty which affects the larger sections of urban population. The policy instruments that could possibly be designed for augmenting the demand for unskilled labour and eliminating imperfections in the urban labour market,¹¹ while curbing the growth of urban labour supply, might include conscious social policy choices which either protect and promote informal sector or which phase it out to accommodate an expanding informal sector.

Some other policy instruments might include, subsidies in the field of

⁸V. Jagannadham, *Social Welfare Organisation*, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1967, p. x.

⁹Johannes F. Linn, "Policies, for Efficient and Equitable Growth of Cities in Developing Countries", *World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 342*, July 1979, p. 14.

¹⁰A.H. Walsh, *The Challenge to Government: An International Comparison of Thirteen Cities*, New York, 1969, p. 3.

¹¹"The demand for unskilled labour is not expanding quickly enough to provide employment at rising wages to a rapidly increasing labour force, while the demand for land, capital, transportation, housing and public services are expanding more rapidly than their supplies, resulting in increased prices, bottlenecks or shortages for factors of production or services." cf. A.H. Walsh, *The Urban Challenge to Government*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

housing, urban infrastructural services and amenities including health and education in most of the existing towns which will grow and develop into cities by virtue of their population growth and accentuate more problems concerning urban poor. This in turn, might necessitate an urgent need to expand both the capacity and capability of urban local administration to solve the problems of urban development particularly of urban poor.

The main objective of all development efforts is to increase "value, utility and welfare,"¹² therefore, the development of capacities for the improvement of future well-being of mankind demands that the policy instrument should be designed to fulfil the following objectives:

- improvement in the level and distribution of income and flows of goods and services;
- removing the existing backlog of services and amenities while expanding these in the face of growing urbanization;
- increasing the city's capacity for producing more goods and services through improvements in health, education and skills of manpower;
- bringing 'efficiency' and 'equity' in the distribution of income and goods and services;
- giving due weightage to public access in decision making, and
- reducing crime rate, risks and uncertainty, while maintaining security of life.

The past experience shows that urban policy problems were tackled on a piecemeal basis. Employment opportunities, lack of services and environmental hazards or social problems were often sufficient cause for a shift in urban policy. Sometimes programmes concentrated entirely on remedial actions, involving only the slum and squatter population or the most disadvantaged socially depressed sections of the urban population. But in the context of rapid urbanisation, the scale of operation has changed. The compelling social forces of urban economic growth necessitate the fixing up of planning priorities for both the rural and urban sectors of economy and shifting the planning policies that distinguishes the new scales of planning from traditional one. □

¹²R.K. Wishwakarma, "A Case for Regional Planning in India, *AICC Economic Review*, Vol. 17, No. 5, August 15, 1965.

Growth Centres in Rural Development

Girish K. Misra

THE concept of growth centre in the context of rural development has already gained a wide currency. Quite a number of efforts have been made by planners and researchers in our country to formulate integrated area development plans for various districts, tehsils and blocks by utilising the concept. One of the pioneering attempts in this area was made by Sen *et al*¹ in 1971 when they formulated such a plan for a tehsil in Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh.

The application of growth centre approach at grassroot level planning is, by and large, a prime necessity because of two fundamental principles, *viz.*, (i) selectivity, and (ii) decentralisation, that are built-in the concept. A country which ranks very low on a scale of economic development in the world, cannot afford to provide all kinds of facilities and services to all of its villages on the same scale. The idea has to be selective. It is necessary to decentralise the activities all over the rural areas in the country so that concentration in few centralised places can be avoided. It is also important to see that the existing imbalance between rural and urban areas is minimised to the extent possible so that the dependency of villages on cities and towns can be reduced.

One of the approaches to serve the above requirements would be, to adopt the growth centre concept while formulating district or block level plans. In the present paper an attempt has been made to explain the importance and workability of the growth centre approach in the rural development of the country.

APPLIED APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Community development programme (CDP) was one of the steps

¹L.K. Sen, S. Wanmali, S. Bose, Girish K. Misra and K.S. Ramesh, *Planning Rural Growth Centres for Integrated Area Development: A Study in Miryalguda Taluka*, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1971.

taken up by the Government of India towards rural development. A block headquarter provided concentration of administrative functions to about one lakh population and 100 villages. The approach was towards initiating and directing a process of integrated cultural change to transform the social and economic structure of the rural society. The block boundaries were not based on any scientific study of micro-level planning. The headquarters failed to integrate the block area although initially the whole concept of CD programme was centred around that very idea.

Intensive agricultural development programme (IADP) aimed at maximising agricultural production irrespective of considering its viability for the common cultivators and agricultural labourers. As a result, the main beneficiaries of this programme were the well-to-do farmers. District area development programme (DADP), on the other hand, focussed attention on socio-economic overheads and development of natural resources without realisation of any special need of weaker sections of the society.

Special problem area programmes like drought prone area programme (DPAP), hill area development programme (HADP), tribal area development programme (TADP), special programmes of small farmers development (SFD), marginal farmers and agriculture labourers (MFAL) and comprehensive area development programme (CADP) of West Bengal principally aimed at increasing agricultural production and not necessarily at improving the farmer's quality of life. In addition to these programmes, experiments in rural employment such as rural works man power scheme, pilot intensive rural employment project (PIREP), employment guarantee scheme (EGS) of Maharashtra, and food for works, were also made from time to time.

New concepts have been now put forth like growth centre aiming at growth to start from favoured points from which it is expected to propagate outwards; integrated area development (IAD) aiming at integration of all human activities within rural settlements and their development at par with one another with little consideration to the activities in between the settlements; and micro-level planning that emerges at the village level.

Among all the programmes, it is only CDP that aimed at increasing agricultural production as well as providing social facilities; others focussed their attention mainly on increasing agricultural production. Growth centre approach and IADP stressed more on choosing a system of settlements for fixing priority for investment of scarce resources and integrating different sectors of local economy through a central place hierarchy. As a matter of fact, the growth centre approach is meaningless without integrated area development approach. In other words, simple identification of growth centres is not enough for rural development until various sectors of economy are also integrated through them. Once these two approaches are considered to be one, their combination would lead to the develop-

ment of agriculture as well as the provision of social facilities like education, health, market, finance, bus service, extension services and communication. In fact, the CDP should have incorporated these approaches within its framework, to be successful. Perhaps, the moment this realisation came through, it was preferred to adopt a new approach rather than modifying the CDP.

In growth centre approach, the identification of central places at various levels of hierarchy is the outcome of level of functional and spatial integration of these places. The former depends on the availability of the type of functions whereas the latter is the result of the range to which a place can serve its surrounding areas. The CDP, on the other hand, could only bring specialists from various departments under the general supervision of block development officers. The provision of facilities, though aimed at in the programme, remained unachieved. Also the location of block headquarter was not adequate to serve the social requirements of its surrounding villages particularly when all types of facilities cannot be provided by the same centre. This can be achieved when a hierarchy of central places is considered in a plan.

ISSUES RAISED AGAINST THE APPROACH

The concept of growth centre has led to certain misunderstandings. It is considered as an imported technique which is not suited for Indian condition. In fact, this is a general remark made against all foreign techniques that are applied in our country. With slight modification the growth centre technique has achieved great importance by now.

The technique is considered to be ineffective for agricultural development. This confusion arises due to lack of understanding of the concept of growth centre which does not claim to develop agriculture except providing infrastructural facilities for its growth through seed, fertiliser, pesticide, animal husbandry and agricultural implement centres. For developing agricultural sector, therefore, growth centre approach has to be seen in the context of IADP. The concept, as it is, provides only a tool for integrating various sectoral activities for their development and not that it develops them.

A doubt is often expressed about trickling down of benefits from growth centres to their hinterland. This confusion arises because all the centres providing either social facilities or locating industries within their area are considered to be growth centres. But the fact is not the same. At the lowest level of hierarchy of settlements there are basic villages. These are generally common in backward areas like tribal, hilly and desert. Due to topographical conditions and lack of communication facilities, it becomes difficult for people in the surrounding areas of the basic villages to avail of certain social facilities that are located at these

places. Thus, a basic village possesses certain social facilities and serves its own area. Central Village is the next higher order place which serves lower order functions for its hinterland. Next in the hierarchy of central places is a service centre that serves middle order social facilities for its hinterland. Market centre occupies next higher order place where top level social facilities are located. All central villages, service centres and market centres are regarded as central places where people interact while availing of certain social facilities located at these places. Beyond this there are central places of higher order but they are considered as growth centres or growth foci. Next to the market centre is a growth point where for the first time an industrial activity generates considerable amount of employment opportunities for the surrounding area. It also produces industrial goods for marketing and can result in the development of ancillary industries in its hinterland. Next to growth points are growth centres with larger labour intensity, and at the apex of a settlement hierarchy there are growth poles in a country.

As long as a place remains a central place *viz.*, central village, service centre and market centre, it will provide social facilities and processing industries which would sustain growth in various sectors of economy. Growth points, growth centres and growth poles would not only provide social facilities but would also generate a sizable industrial in the hinterland.

It is remarked that the system of growth centres does not help in the provision of irrigation facilities, flood control measures and power supply. But it is not difficult for those who understand the system to suggest a meaningful road network connecting different order growth foci with different types of roads, *e.g.*, higher order places can be connected by higher order roads like national and state highways and so on. Although the system does not help in supplying electricity but the priorities can always be fixed for rural electrification through it. For flood control and development of irrigation, efforts have to be made in the integrated area development plans, separately. The system of growth centres has nothing to do with these suggestions.

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS

While applying the concept of growth centre to rural development, it is necessary to make few changes in it. It is seen that central places are identified at various levels of functional hierarchy. This exercise in fact requires field data on spatial interaction from each and every village in a district or a block. At latter level, it is not very difficult to collect data from about 100 villages; but in the former case, it becomes a gigantic task when data are collected from 1000 villages or more. The only way out to overcome this problem is to select villages above certain level of

population, below that only ubiquitous functions are found. In such a case, the uncovered villages are to be allocated to their central places according to either Reilly's Law of Gravitation² or some graphical or mathematical approach.

As a matter of fact, the need for spatial interaction data arises first, to identify central places at various levels of functional hierarchy and secondly, to examine at what range or distance various social facilities are availed at various order central places. The latter data enable a planner to develop distance norms for providing different sets of social facilities at these places. To minimise efforts in this direction, it is advisable to conduct district or block level studies based on the concepts of integrated area development in different ecological zones or socio-economic settings of the country. Once we know what sets of social facilities are to be provided by different order growth foci, and what average distance is to be kept between these places at various levels of functional hierarchy, we can suggest the patterns for other districts or blocks possessing similar socio-economic characteristics. It will not be necessary then to collect data on spatial interaction. Still the need for identifying central places or growth foci will always remain in the forefront in an integrated area development plan. This can be fulfilled by secondary data on location of these facilities. The problem of delineating hinterland of growth foci can also be sorted out by applying graphical³ or location-allocation models.⁴ The latter, of course, would give a more scientific and meaningful delineation.

It is generally seen that population threshold of a facility is used to find its place in a hierarchic (functional) level. For all facilities other than extension services perhaps this method may be appropriate, but for locating seed, fertiliser, pesticide distribution centres, animal husbandry and agricultural implement centres, a different method has to be developed based on the area under cultivation and its productive characteristics.

Different standards are generally maintained for identifying growth foci at various levels of functional hierarchy. A central village in a district or a block does not always convey the same meaning. It should have a common definition and should provide same set of facilities and almost an equal number of dependent villages.

To sum up, the growth centre approach provides a scientific framework for developing our villages in a balanced and integrated

²W.J. Reilly, *The Law of Retail Gravitation*, New York, 1931. Also for its modified form see L. K. Sen, R. N. Tripathy, Girish K. Misra and A. Thaha, *Growth Centres in Raichur: An Integrated Area Development Plan for a District in Karnataka*, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1975.

³Central Research Cell, Department of Community Development, Ministry of Agriculture in collaboration with Ford Foundation, *General Service Centre Planning* (cyclo-styled), New Delhi, 1974, pp. 114-118.

⁴Girish K. Misra, "Spatial Organization of Service Centres in Rural India," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, July-September, 1977.

manner. The network of growth foci is such that a plan formulated at district or block level can be easily coordinated with another plan prepared at regional, state or national level. The difference in the number of growth foci at various levels in a hierarchic system between any two districts or blocks in a socio-economic setting would indicate disparity in the level of development. As the system of growth centres is based on the nesting of rural settlements together with a system of hierarchy, the benefits would percolate downwards. The system would enable a planner to dovetail different sectoral programmes and provide social facilities, industries and roads according to the principles of selectivity and decentralisation. □

Industrialisation and the Rural Poor

Ram K. Vepa

A SIGNIFICANT feature of the Indian economy since independence is the rapid growth of the modern small industry sector. In the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 and 1956, the small scale sector has been given a special role for creating additional employment opportunities with low capital investment. Three national organisations were set up in the mid and late fifties to provide specific support to that sector; the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) to provide technical consultancy; the Small Industry Extension Training Institute (SIET) at Hyderabad for training the personnel connected with the development of small industries; and the National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC) for undertaking commercial operations in aid of the small units.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW—LAST 25 YEARS

The year 1979 marks the 25th anniversary of the first steps taken to provide an institutional framework for the rapid growth of the small scale sector. These measures have, in fact, yielded significant dividends; from a mere 1,00,000 units in 1965, the number of registered units alone has grown progressively to more than 5,00,000 units by 1975. In terms of production, the growth has been from about Rs. 25,000 million in 1965 to Rs. 1,30,000 million in 1978 representing almost 40 per cent of the total industrial production in the country. In terms of employment, the sector provides direct employment to about 5.90 million persons. The share of small scale industries in total exports has registered a sharp increase from 9.6 per cent in 1971 to 17 per cent in 1977. In absolute terms, this was nearly Rs. 900 crores; in non-traditional products alone, small scale sector now accounts for 41 per cent of the total exports.

The viability of the small scale sector could be judged by the fact that the net value added per one Rupee of fixed investment in respect of the

small scale is 0.96 against 0.41 in the large scale sector while the production per unit of investment in the small scale is estimated to be 5.60 against 1.80 in the large scale sector. A project in the small scale sector with an investment of Rs. 1 million normally provides employment to 172 persons while the same number of employees in the large scale sector would require an investment of Rs. 5.31 million.

Even more impressive than these statistics is the wide variety of items (5,000) that are now being manufactured in the small scale sector. These range from comparatively simple items to sophisticated products such as television sets, electronic control system, drugs and chemicals, as well as various other engineering products particularly as ancillaries to the large industries. So wide ranging has been the growth of small scale sector, that the government has adopted a policy of reserving items for exclusive production in the small scale sector, which, today, number more than 800.

The achievements in the small scale sector are primarily due to the active policy support and comprehensive programme of assistance launched by the Government of India. The basic approach towards development of small industries, as outlined in the Industrial Policy Statement and National Plans can be summarised as under:

- To create immediate employment opportunities on a massive scale at a relatively small cost.
- To meet a substantial part of the increased demand for consumer goods and simple producer goods.
- To facilitate mobilisation of resources of capital and skill which may otherwise remain unutilised in rural areas.
- To help in raising incomes and standards of living of a large number of artisans, craftsmen and entrepreneurs.
- To make small industries export-oriented and help export promotion.
- To remove regional disparities through a deliberate policy of encouraging growth in village and small towns.

The outlays for the development of small scale industries in the successive Five Year Plans have increased substantially. Policy measures for supporting the small scale industries development programmes include reservation of products for exclusive manufacture in small scale sector, reservation of items for exclusive purchase from the small scale sector, encouragement of the growth of ancillaries, special incentives for setting up industries in backward and rural areas, liberalisation of terms and conditions of financial assistance from commercial banks and other financial assistance from commercial banks and other agencies, special facilities for import of raw materials and components, supply of imported and indigenous machinery on hire-purchase and rental basis, etc.

The government has also launched a comprehensive programme of

assistance for speedy development of small scale industries at all stages of production ranging from selection of line of production to marketing of the final product. The Small Industries Development Organisation with its net work of 25 small industries service institutes, 18 branch institutes, 41 extension centres, 4 regional testing centres, 1 Product and Process Development Centre and associate institutions like the National Small Industries Corporation, Central Institute of Tool Design, Tool rooms, Institute for Design for Electrical Measuring Instruments provides comprehensive assistance on all aspects of development to the small entrepreneurs. On an average, about 4,00,000 existing and prospective entrepreneurs are provided annually advice on technical, economic, managerial and general matters.

TRENDS DURING THE LAST 25 YEARS

While the small sector has registered impressive gains, both in quantity and diversity, during the last 25 years, there have also been disquieting trends which have been witnessed during the same period. The more important of these are listed below:

Firstly, the growth of the modern small sector has been confined largely to the metropolitan and urban areas of the country. In fact, if one takes away the six or eight cities with a population of 1 million or more—Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Hyderabad, Kanpur, Bangalore and Ahmedabad—one would have eliminated almost 75 per cent of the production in small sector. The industrial estates set up in and near these big cities have been very successful while the majority of those operating elsewhere have been struggling with poor capacity utilisation. Although much has been said about the 'growth centres', in practice, it is the towns that are already developed that have tended to attract new industries. The only exception are the big new industrial complexes such as Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh, Adityapur in Bihar or Durgapur in Bengal which have drawn some industries but this has been far too limited to make any significant impact on the country as a whole.

The growth has also been confined to some states in the country more than others. Broadly, the more progressive states such as Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have forged ahead in the development of the small and rural industry while those which needed such growth most such as Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, U.P., Rajasthan have tended to lag behind. Thus the differentiation in per capita incomes between these states have tended to widen since the former group of states have been able to utilise the incentives offered by the government more effectively and imaginatively. Even the entrepreneurs drawn from there have been able to take advantage of the facilities offered. A number of studies have indicated that just four or five states

have accounted for almost 75 per cent of the advances made in the country.

Even within the advanced states, it is the relatively well to do sections of the community that have benefited most rather than the poorer classes. Industrial entrepreneurs require a minimum level of affluence to withstand the first year or two relatively poor returns and unless one is able to absorb that shock, it is hardly likely they will survive those first few years. It is only those who are relatively prosperous that can set up an industry and run it amidst all the fluctuations that take place. The weaker sections of the community, the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes have found it difficult to break into this 'charmed' circle and, therefore, relatively few entrepreneurs have emerged from these classes.

Nor have such entrepreneurs come from the rural areas generally. Although entrepreneurship, of a sort does exist in these areas, in actual practice, the infrastructure necessary for industrial development is absent in most villages—Power has still reached only one third of villages and even where it is nominally available is subject to frequent shutdowns and fluctuations. Roads are still not always available while telephone facilities are yet to develop extensively in rural areas. The banks have also not come up in a big way in these areas with the result that the prospects for success for a venture in these areas is much less than in the urban areas. It is no wonder then that in spite of 'package of incentives' offered by many state governments, there is still a marked reluctance to move away from the large urban conglomeration where such facilities exist.

Nor are such 'incentives' effective in actual practice; while most states have announced a number of concessions and incentives, many of them remain on paper and are not actually passed on to the people who need them most. In fact, the basic difference between a so-called forward state and one which is rated as backward is not in the manner in which local administrations function. In fact, it is noticed that quite often the backward states have skills and natural resources for better than many other parts of the country; and yet are unable to make use of them fully. Bihar, for instance, is rich in minerals while Madhya Pradesh has an abundance of forest wealth; the traditional crafts of Orissa and Rajasthan are deservedly famous. Yet with all these advantages these states remain the most backward in the country since they have been unable to capitalise on these skills as other states have done.

This has been partly due to the cumbersome procedures with which the small sector has been afflicted. While nominally it is a free sector, there has been no relief given to the sector in the number of acts and measures applicable to it. The Companies Act is applied to it in full although a proposal is now under consideration to make it simpler for small units. The number of approvals that need to be taken before commencing production, literally run into dozens and the potential entre-

preneur becomes disenchanted with the inefficient and often corrupt way in which they are administered. In terms of time, it takes him, with the best will in the world a minimum period of one year to clear all the formalities before production, can commence . . . Even after commencement of production, he is subject to a series of legislations under the guise of 'labour welfare' which makes him subject to undue harassment. The Employees Provident Fund Act, the Employees State Insurance Act, the Industrial Disputes Act, etc., each of which has a rationale of its own cumulatively impose a heavy burden on the small sector units who find it difficult to bear. As one writer has quipped: 'India is a country with a third class economy burdened with a first class labour legislation' and nowhere is this truer than in the small sector. The plethora of legislation imposes a double burden on the small entrepreneur . . . it makes it obligatory on him to do a mass of paper work and returns which if not done makes him liable to punishment and on the other hand subjects him to harassment by hordes of minor functionaries. Hence the time that should normally have been spent on more important matters connected with production and marketing is spent in the fruitless job of filling up official returns or entertaining 'official' visitors.

The legal structure in the country also proves a barrier to growth of the small units. Most of such units are proprietary concerns so as to avoid the cumbersome procedures of the Companies Act since the risk capital is drawn mostly from a few persons and their immediate families. But under the Partnership Act now in force the liability of the partner is 'unlimited' which inhibits the availability of risk capital for industrial ventures. A proposal has been under consideration for some time to provide for partnerships with limited liability so as to attract more money into business ventures but, so far, the proposal is still lost in the administrative jungle and is yet to see the light of the day.

Another factor that has inhibited the growth of the small sector is the inadequate technology base on which it is operating. Although a well developed R & D network has been established in the country, there has so far been no effective linkage between the prestigious laboratories set up in the last 25 years and the small units. Most of the labs continue to work on research schemes which are only relevant to the large units or not relevant to any one . . . Even where they do take up projects of interest to the small and medium units, they are not able to provide the technology in a form that can be used by the small units. In most cases, the schemes are only half-baked laboratory modules where a considerable amount of engineering design would still need to be done before it can become an industrial project . . . which small units have neither resources nor the capability to do. The National Research Development Corporation (NRDC) which was set up to bridge this gap has unfortunately remained as a 'collector of know-how fees and royalties' and has never taken up seriously

the basic problem of making the technology developed in the laboratories suitable for the small units.

The small sector, therefore, is forced to rely on itself for any innovation and often uses obsolete or outmoded technologies. Except in a few areas like electronics or chemicals where a large number of technical entrepreneurs have come from abroad, many small units still enjoy the practices and process which are decades old. These largely use raw materials imported from abroad and are, therefore, subject to the vagaries of the import policy and the availability of foreign exchange. The raw materials available in abundance in the country remain unutilised industrially and not many industrial processes have emerged from the national laboratories using such raw materials. The processes and equipment that are used in the small sector are, therefore, a replica of those used in the large sector some decades back and the products tend to be expensive, poor in quality and not fully utilised. No systematic technological base has been created which would take into account, the specific parameters that obtain in India and other developing countries—the small markets, limited managerial and technical skills and the need for low cost production with reasonable quality... which would enable their goods from the small sector to compete with the large ones.

This lack of effective linkage with new technological innovation has made the small sector unduly capital intensive... While undoubtedly, the small unit is less capital intensive than the large one (Rs. 5000-10,000) for a workplace created as against Rs. 1,00,000 or more in the case of large units) it is still not adequately labour intensive. This is due to the fact that the machinery and processes used are basically meant for high volume production and hence cost more than what is necessary. Capacity utilisation in the small sector tends to run around 20 to 30 per cent both due to the limited markets as well as inadequate supply of raw materials—with the result that many small units find it difficult to operate with profit. The widespread sickness that is prevalent in the small scale sector is due to the inability of the many of the units to operate at full or even reasonable capacity, which has been created. No unit can hope to make a profit if it operates at 20 per cent of its capacity. And on the other hand the widespread employment generation specially in the rural areas which was expected from the small scale units has not materialised.

There has also been inadequate linkage with other elements of the decentralised sector. The development programmes in handloom, handicrafts, Khadi, coir, sericulture, etc., have tended to operate in isolation without an effective link up between them. This has been partly due to the organisational framework in which each operates and a natural tendency for each of them to preserve their separate identity. But in terms of the impact on the rural areas, the effect has been that individually they have been unable to generate the momentum that was expected. In any

case, at the grassroot level what is needed is not a number of programmes, each limited and ineffective, but an integrated programme which can make the desired impact and generate a momentum for growth. The fact that these organisations have spread over a number of ministries at the state and central levels has added to the confusion. Thus handlooms is usually looked after by the Department of Cooperation while separate corporations deal with small industries and handicrafts. At the central level, Khadi and Village Industries were at one time with the Ministry of Commerce, later with the Ministry of Industry and now again with the Ministry of Rural Reconstruction. The Rural Development Programmes have been organised in a big way by the Ministry of Agriculture which had an industry component but these were not linked either formally or informally with the programme of rural industrialisation. There has thus been a fragmentation of effort which has made it difficult to look at the problem in a totality.

Ultimately, industrial growth depends on identification and development of entrepreneurs and this has not been done on a systematic manner except in a few states like Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh. Largely, it has been left to chance with the result that no widebased entrepreneurship has emerged in many States which could act as a spark plug for growth. In the urban areas many from the trading communities drifted into the field of industry hoping to 'make a fast buck' and have dropped out and when it was realised that this was not possible. There has, therefore, been no systematic and methodical programme to nurture rural entrepreneurship which undoubtedly exists and which can be channelled for industrial purposes.

The above are some of the significant trends that have caused concern in the general picture of growth during the last 25 years. It was, therefore, felt that unless a new approach were adopted to tackle this problem, it would be unreasonable to expect a break-through in the problem of carrying the process of industrialisation to the semi-urban and rural areas. Such a programme should weave together the various skills and resources that undoubtedly exist and put them together so as to function effectively. For this purpose a new administrative framework was considered which would act as a focal point of growth and which could provide the necessary support to the entrepreneurs drawn from the rural areas. Such a framework would need to look at the problem in a wider perspective and formulation on an integrated pattern of growth in which all the elements would then form components. Such a framework was conceived in the programme to establish District Industries Centre (DIC) announced in the policy statement of December 1977 and launched formally on May 1, 1978.

DIC PROGRAMME: AN APPRAISAL

The DIC Programme which is now less than 20 months old (and even less for the time it really took off in August 1978) has made a good progress which is neither spectacular nor disappointing. Quite obviously, in a programme of this magnitude which covers the entire country it cannot be expected that all the DICs will perform equally well; much depends on the initiative and commitment brought to bear by the staff of the DIC and more particularly of the general manager. But what is heartening is the sense of dedication and enthusiasm displayed by most of them at the first All India meet of the General Managers held at Delhi in July 1979. It is reasonable to expect that as the key functionaries in the programme acquire a deeper perception of it, better results can be achieved through the programme.

It must be realised, however, that what is sought to be achieved is not just an industrial unit here or a production unit there; it is a basic change in the attitude of the rural entrepreneur and all those connected with the economic growth in the village. For the first time, such growth is being looked at not in terms of smoke coming out of chimneys, but as an integrated and balanced pattern in which all the elements of the decentralised sector have to play a significant part. Even within the narrow spectrum of industrialisation, an attempt is being made to look at some of the neglected facets such as the rural artisan, the skilled craft worker, the handloom operator and to line up these activities with the general process of rural development being undertaken through other national programmes. The DIC is emerging as the focal point for the economic and industrial growth in the district.

Even in quantitative terms, the results achieved in 1978-79 are not entirely unimpressive. To have provided additional employment to 1.5 lakh persons in the short space of 6 months (in 1978-79) is no mean achievement. During the year (1979-80) is no mean achievement. During the year 1979-80, when all the DICs are expected to function, the total employment to be granted is expected to reach the million mark which considering the magnitude of the problem may not still be adequate. Certain, as the DICs begin to grasp the immensity of the tasks before them and the even greater potential that exists all around, it is expected in the second year of their existence.

What is particularly impressive is the way in which some of the so-called backward states such as Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jammu & Kashmir and Orissa have been using the DIC—as it was expected to be done—as the vehicles for providing a new momentum for economic growth. Due to the keen interest the top official cadres took in the programme in those states, there has been a significant progress in building up the DIC as the nodal agency for growth in the district. This indeed is already

beginning to pay off in the more accelerated growth that is being witnessed in many districts of these states.

As is to be expected in the progressive states, such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, there has been a realisation of what the DIC can achieve if it functions properly; in Punjab and Haryana, there is already a strong entrepreneurial base which the DIC can build upon. In the States of the North East, due to obvious reasons, the programme is yet to make a headway though there are indications that in some regions it will do well, thanks to the support of the state governments. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the DIC programme has not yet made as much progress as could have been expected due to weak administrative structure while in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh, there are signs that it is beginning to make good progress.

This is not to say that there are no problem-areas and that all is well with the programme. The staffing pattern of the DIC has tended to concentrate at the district level when the bulk of the action is elsewhere—not in the countryside. Effects are now being made to develop an institutional framework at the Taluk and Block levels so that the DIC has extensive staff down the line out of the district headquarters. In many states, C.D. blocks have an extension officer dealing with rural industries and these are now being linked up with the DIC although there is some confusion as to the exact pattern of such linkage. Many of the staff who used to work in the earlier promotional schemes such as the Rural Industries Development Programme (RIP) and the Rural Industries Development Artisan Programme (RAP) have been fitted into the DIC framework at the various levels. In J & K for instance there are promotion offices at the taluk level and extension offices at the block level providing a well organised set-up for undertaking the programme.

The credit manager is an important functionary who has been loaned for a period of 2 years from the leading Bank of the district. Although in many cases these persons have adjusted themselves well and have contributed to the success—and greater credit flow of the centre, there are also many instances where they seem to be ill at ease within their new roles as promotional and development offices. The fact that as a rule their salaries and allowances are above what is generally the case in the DIC has also tended to make them somewhat of misfit. It is expected that by 1980-81 many of them would have completed their 2 years stint and revert to the parent organisation. It has been proposed as a permanent arrangement that the State Financial Corporation (SFC) should then take the responsibility to recruit suitable personnel, train them and provide guidance in their day-to-day functioning.

A similar role needs to be exercised in the case of Manager (Raw Materials) and Manager (Marketing) by the State Small Industry Corporation. These two functions have been combined in many districts and the

State Small Industry Corporation which deals with these problems at the state level is in a good position to back stop the functions of these personnel. The supply of raw materials of the right type and at the right time has proved to be a vital element in the success of a small industry and increasingly marketing will be equally important. Hence, there is need for an effective linkage between the functionaries who look after these aspects at the DIC level and the state level agency which has the responsibility for it.

This is even more so in the case of the manager dealing with the village industries who occupies a pivotal position. Not only is his spectrum of activities wide but the number of agencies he has to deal with are large . . . these comprise the statutory boards such as the Khadi and Village Industries Board (and the KVIC at the national level), the Handloom and Handicrafts Board, Export Corporation, the Silk Board, the Coir Board etc. . . . At present in many districts, these functionaries are not even in position and where they are, have not yet begun to operate in an effective fashion. In Maharashtra the GM of the DIC has been recognised as an ex-officio Deputy Chief Executive Officer of the KVI Board while in Rajasthan the field staff of the Board has been merged completely with the staff of the DIC. But these are somewhat isolated instances and there is need for greater linkage between these bodies at the state and national levels and the DIC. . . . considering the importance of this work to the success of the DIC programme and the fact that the bulk of its activities will necessarily lie in the traditional crafts and skills which need to be upgraded, it is essential that there is a strong link between the DIC and other agencies of the decentralised sector.

For the same reason it seems essential that there is a strong linkage with the well developed R & D network and well staffed national laboratories. In several disciplines and in many States there are institutions which deal with technological development in one or more areas. In addition, many national and regional research laboratories are taking an increasing interest in the 'live' problems around them rather than do research in 'esoteric' areas. But these agencies need to be 'fed' constantly with the problems of the field and the Manager (Research, Extension and Training) is expected to perform this role. However, in many DICs this functionary has not been appointed and even where a person has been so designed, he has tended to look upon his role as merely to organise training programme rather than as a total linkage with the R & D agencies. It has been proposed that in order to forge such a link, it may be necessary to designate an institution at the State level—perhaps an RRL or a SISI—which can perform the 'nodal' function of monitoring the performance of these functionaries, and serving as a bridge between them and the national laboratories.

Another problem area is the delegation of powers to the DIC so that

it can discharge its role effectively. In most states, there has been an effective delegation of many of the powers exercised by the Directors of Industries; in fact, for issue of important licences, the GM of the DIC has been designated as the 'sponsoring authority', instead of the Director of Industries as in the past. However, in respect of powers that need to be exercised in respect of other departments or agencies, there has been some reluctance to delegate them under the pretext of statutory responsibility. In a few states like Rajasthan, Power Boards have located one of their own offices in the DIC to sanction small loads while in a few others, the GM is a member of the committee which provides such sanctions. In Tamil Nadu, it has been provided that for the 'tiny units' with investments less than one lakh rupees, no approvals from panchayats, or municipalities or public health agencies would be needed. But in most states, the DIC is performing only a coordinating role with varying degrees of success but has not yet been recognised as the agency of the department to deal with the matter. It is hoped that as the institution gathers strength there will be an increasing tendency for other government departments, e.g., and agencies to delegate powers under the various acts to the personnel of the DIC.

This is particularly so in regard to credit where the banks and the SFC have not yet been able to delegate their power of sanction to the DIC which remains merely a mixed one. . . in some cases, banks have responded well to the application forwarded by the DICs while in others there has been a reluctance to increasing their lending to the decentralised sector. This is particularly so in case of small loans and composite loans below Rs. 25,000 for which it has been stipulated that no collateral need be insisted upon. Nor have the banks heeded the time stipulation that all applications forwarded to them must be accepted or rejected within 30 days of their receipt. The credit manager drawn from the lead bank has had some 'leverage' with his own bank but comparatively little with others. The banks, on the other hand complain, with some degree of justification, that the appraisals conducted by the DIC are perfunctory and not adequately professional; the DICs have the feeling that the rigid attitude of the bank has not changed significantly. Perhaps, as both agencies begin to appreciate the roles of the other and use the framework of coordination committee more effectively, there will be a more constructive relationship between these two bodies.

The funding pattern of the DIC Programme has been revised from April 1, 1979. In view of high priority accorded in most states, to irrigation and power projects, there has been a tendency to divert funds to them and starve the programme of its modest requirements which form the 'core' of the programme. . . and which has given rise to the criticism that the DIC is a mere administrative framework which, in the ultimate analysis, has provided a large number of jobs to departmental personnel.

This is partially true; as many as 3000 new jobs have been created which has given rise to promotional opportunities to the staff of the Industries Department. Although it has been advised that the recruitment for these posts should be broad based and that both government agencies and the open market may be tapped for this purpose, there has been a pressure from the department to confine the recruitment to inhouse personnel. In one state (Kerala) the staff took recourse to a legal remedy; on the other hand, in states like Orissa and Madhya Pradesh a conscious attempt was made to broaden the base of recruitment drawing from the IAS and the state administrative cadres and even from the open market. It would be of some interest to see the manner in which these personnel drawn from different backgrounds operate which will provide guidance as to the type of personnel that would be most effective in a programme like the DIC.

Each of the DIC has been asked to prepare an Action Plan for the remaining year of the sixth plan (1982-83) and more detailed for 1979-80 and 1980-81. These action plans were meant as a stock taking exercise to identify the potentialities that undoubtedly exist in every district and to determine what needs to be done on a priority basis. Many of the action plans have, however, tended to confine their sights to the more obvious industrial opportunities neglecting the economic activities such as fisheries or poultry development, piggery or cultivation of mushrooms which, in the long run, may prove more productive or labour intensive. The experience of rural communes in China has indicated that it is only by welding suitably the two different patterns of development (or as the Chinese say—walking on two legs) that a quick advance can be made—the rural and the consequent prosperity of the farmer generating the demand for a variety of inputs and consumer goods. And what is not always realised that even small improvements in technology, can go a long way ... in fact with the current low productivity of almost all the occupations, the DIC has a tremendous opportunity to generate a new momentum for growth by weaving together all the activities into a meaningful pattern.

In this task, it needs to interact with other agencies and programmes that are also operating in the area. The Small Farmers Development Authority (SFDA) is a registered society that undertakes programme for the small farmer and is, therefore, an agency with which the DIC needs to work in close cooperation. So is the CD block which is the main implementing agency for the extension programmes at the block level. These programmes have been intensified in nearly 3000 blocks (out of 4,500 blocks in the country) under the Integrated Rural Development (IRD) and the National Scheme of Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM). Under both these schemes, a major effort is being made to identify rural youth for more productive employment opportunities. More

specifically in each block, it is proposed that 100 artisan families be identified who can be trained and provided loans up to Rs. 9,000 in each (of which a third will be in the shape of grant) for increasing their output. In fact, the real finesse of the DIC staff will be in indentifying the several programmes that are already in operation through several agencies and advising potential entrepreneurs of the manner in which they can take full advantage of them. Quite often those in rural areas are unaware of these schemes or only know of them vaguely; what is needed is that the DIC is able to advise them fully on them and help them to secure the benefits of these programmes. In this sense, the role of the DIC is that of a 'catalyst', so that it can help to disseminate information about the programme and optimise their benefits.

An area that is of increasing importance is that of marketing the produce of the rural industries. The concept of a Rural Marketing Centre has been mooted which can act as a retail outlet for such produce at the rate of one for each C.D. block. It has been suggested that the expertise already built up by some of the agencies of the decentralised sector such as the KVIC, Handicrafts Emporia, Handloom Cooperative societies, can be utilised for this purpose. It has been proposed to give a grant to cover the management expences while the banks will find the commercial operation. The concept is still in a nascent stage and it is difficult to say how it will ultimately work out. Certainly, there is increasing need to develop rural marketing as an entrepreneurial activity which needs to be undertaken on a systematic scale; in fact, and has happened in developed countries, in the ultimate analysis selling a product may be as important, even more, than making it. Other suggestions to develop rural marketing are to provide incentives to individual entrepreneurs to undertake marketing activities, set up commercial Estates (on the pattern of Industrial Estates) and to provide linkages with marketing organisation at the state and national levels. Perhaps, by a suitable combination of all these measures, it would be possible to solve the complicated problem of marketing the products of the village industries.

Ultimately, the major problem of the DIC is to involve more actively the people in it; too often, government programmes tend to become far too official and not allow for public participation on a wide scale. It is for this reason that an advisory committee has been suggested for each DIC but in many cases these have been manned by officials. What is necessary is that the DIC builds vital links with pupblic agencies such as chambers of commerce, trade and industries association citizen groups and clubs such as the Rotary and the Lions. The active participation of the representatives of the public such as the MPs and MALs is also necessary if the programme is to receive a wide measure of public support. There is also need for well coordinated publicity of the programmes and activities of the DICs so that there is a greater awareness of them.

CONCLUSION

The DIC programme is less than 2 years old and to expect miracle from it is somewhat being over optimistic. On the other hand, it represents an attempt—primarily administrative—so as to find a meaningful solution of the problem of generating a new momentum for industrial growth in small towns and rural areas. Such a momentum can only come with a 'critical mass' of capabilities being provided in these areas which is now being done. Given the right measure of support from the government and the public and a fair amount of commitment and dedication from the personnel operating in it, the DIC programme can be expected to overcome the initial trouble and make a significant contribution to the economic development of rural and backward areas and a significant increase in prosperity of the economically weak sections of the population that live in it. □

Role of Rural Leaders in Social Welfare

B.M. Verma

INDIA'S major population lives in villages. The prosperity and progress of the country, therefore, lies in the well-being of countryside. While giving priority to the eradication of poverty from among the masses, the social aspects of development cannot be overlooked since its causes lie deep in social order. Rural leaders can play a very significant role in the achievement of social justice with the development of social welfare in the country. Their work has to be in accordance with the norms of the prescribed decentralised political system and well within the prevailing legal framework, social environment and cultural ethos of the country. It is being increasingly realised that without the active association and cooperation of rural leaders, the progress of socio-economic development and social welfare cannot make much headway as they often fail to enthuse local participation. Genuine leadership therefore is a vital component and a great potential of development.

Traditional consideration like caste and kinship are gradually losing their importance in providing leadership in the rural areas. With the increasing growth of democratic-decentralisation, technological innovation and social change, new forces have been realised in the social-structure of the country. Social restratification in the wake of new political and social consciousness has generated action-oriented, power conscious leaders who are real representatives of the community at the local level. The philosophy of democratic decentralisation calls for the establishment of effective local government in villages with dynamic leadership at the grass-root level. It is presumed that the existing politico-administrative apparatus in the country would strengthen the public policy so as to help fulfilling the aspiration of the common man. Rural leaders are entrusted with the task of social reconstruction. The administration of social services and social welfare programmes have to get people's participation. In this connection Hans Nagpaul has observed that "Rural India is passing

through a period of transition and bewilderment. The new social and economic forces generated by the large scale development plans have shaken up the social structure and are beginning to alter the values and attitudes as well. The traditional leadership is undergoing a change and new patterns of leadership are emerging on the scene.”*

After Independence (1947) India has done a great deal for the socio-economic development of its masses. The concept of social justice has been introduced with the launching of panchayati raj system as a part of democratic decentralisation. Panchayati Raj leaders (office-holders) are there to help achieving the plan objectives and bring the desired change by translating the community decisions into action. The reference is not merely for economic progress but also for change in the patterns of relations, reflecting democratic values. Myrdal in the ‘Asian Drama’ has pointed out that if we are able to secure development with social justice, we can usher in a new era of development. Similarly, in the words of justice Gajendragadkar, the concept of social justice is a revolutionary concept which makes the rule of law, dynamic. It is this concept of social justice which creates, in the minds of masses, a sense of participation.

The present paper seeks to examine the role of rural leaders in the democratic functioning of the rural government. Special reference being made to the formulation and implementation of the socio-economic and welfare programmes. The specific objective is to study the qualitative differences of role perception in the execution of rural development programmes at different levels, *i. e.*, village, block and district.

Leadership, here, has been conceived to cover formal leaders, *i. e.*, people’s representatives in panchayati raj bodies at difference levels. Thus a leader is an individual, occupying a position and a status within the panchayati raj organisation which confers on him the right to take decision, exercise authority, initiate action and direct and control the activities. In fact, leadership involves the execution of a particular kind of role designed essentially in terms of power and authority to influence others. It also involves both overt actions as well as certain patterns of interpersonal perception and certain expectations about behaviour. The study of leadership thus, involves an analysis of the role of leaders in the socio-economic development and welfare programmes. Role has been defined as a manner in which an individual actually carries out the expectations incumbent to the position he is occupying in the Panchayati Raj organisation, as a representative of the people.

Social welfare is increasingly being recognised as the subject of vital importance in the life of a nation destined to become a welfare state. An indication of a firm commitment to this cause is apparent in the increasing

*Hans Nagpaul, “Leadership: A frame of Reference” in L.P. Vidhyarthi (ed.), *Leadership in India*, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, p. 58.

amount of outlay on social welfare in our development plans. In the first plan the total outlay for social welfare was Rs. 5 crores, *i.e.*, 1 per cent of the total outlay for social services, while in the second five year plan it rose to Rs. 19 crores, *i.e.*, 2.2 per cent of the outlay for social services and in the third plan it amounted to Rs. 31 crores, *i.e.*, 2.3 per cent of the total outlay. In the fourth and fifth plan it amounted to Rs. 41.38 crores and 86.13 crores respectively. The sixth Five Year Plan provided a sum of Rs. 130.50 crores for social welfare.

The five year plans draw distinction between 'social welfare services' and 'social services'. The distinction between 'welfare services' and 'social services' can be summarised as such:

1. Social services are meant to connote established services like education, health, housing and labour, while welfare services are directed in particular, towards sections of the community which need special care and protection such as the blind, deaf, unemployed and the delinquent.
2. Social services constitute and investment in the betterment of human resources in general. The welfare services are designed to enable the under-privileged or handicapped sections of the community to rise as close to the level of the normal community as possible.
3. Unlike social services the welfare services are mostly and increasingly family and community oriented.
4. Even in a state having fully developed social services there is always need for specialised welfare services for the victims of various physical, mental, economic or social disabilities.

The aim of social services is to enhance human happiness, while the aim of welfare services is to enable the weaker sections of the community to reach the stage where they too can benefit from the available social services.

Welfare services are an integral but distinct part of social services.

Both these services are thus complementary to each other and are necessary for the society faced with problems resulting from want, disease, ignorance, squalor and other handicaps. Socially deprived groups, economically weak groups, physically handicapped groups, mentally retarded groups, need care and looking after. They need the society's help for their upliftment so that the society as a whole can improve its status.

Eighty per cent of the Indian population lives in the villages. Unless these villages are developed and made prosperous the future of the country cannot be made bright. The villages must be economically developed. Community Development Programme was launched for the multi-sided rural development. Unfortunately it failed in its efforts by becoming

synonymous with the agricultural development in rural areas. Except for the agricultural population who were marginally benefited no other section of the community such as handicapped, under-privileged, unemployed or destitutes could derive any benefit from it. The organised and sustained activity for education, welfare and rehabilitation have yet to reach the rural population. According to the National Commission on Agriculture (1973) the integration of scheduled castes/scheduled tribes, both on economic and social plans, with the life of rural poor, could be attempted within a common framework of development. In accordance with the accepted strategy for the development of scheduled castes/scheduled tribes, the main thrust of development in the Fifth Five Year Plan was to be provided by the general sectors. The plan implementation Department/Agencies in the state/union territories had been asked to identify schemes, the benefits of which could be extended to scheduled castes/scheduled tribes and other weaker sections. The Department of Agriculture, Government of India, had been able to quantify an outlay of Rs. 420 million out of Rs. 2,500 million for the sub-plan area in the central and centrally sponsored sectors for 1978-83. A number of centrally sponsored schemes for the benefit of weaker sections such as 'Food For Work', 'Antodaya', 'Rehabilitation of Freed Bonded labour', are in operation in different states. All these schemes having an objective of growth and population, are specifically oriented for the benefit of weaker sections. Under the strategy of Tribal sub-plan, 18 state/union territories-administration have been provided an outlay of Rs. 3,600 million out of the general sector for being spent in the sub-plan areas during the Fifth Five Year Plan period. Out of this outlay, the investment from the state plan would be of Rs. 2,580 million during the year 1977-78. It is also worthwhile to note that the selection of the block for the year 1978-79 for preparation of block level plans is based on the population of scheduled castes/scheduled tribes. The strategy of Integrated Rural Development and new development Agency such as Small Farmers Development agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers' development Agencies (MFAL) Drought-Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Pilot Intensive Rural Area Development Programme (PIREP) along with a large number of national and state level public sector, corporations. Nationalised Banks, Cooperatives and other institutions, are helping in the improvement of living conditions of the weaker sections in the rural community.

The objects of social welfare as mentioned under various heads such as duties and functions of panchayat or panchayat samiti or zila parishad or the committee for social welfare in panchayati raj are welfare of women and children, welfare of disabled, crippled, beggars, vagrants, infirm and sick; welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other weaker section of society; production and prohibition and eradication of corruption, gambling and litigation; implementation of land reforms, reclamation

of waste land; Promotion of cooperative credit societies, multipurpose cooperative societies, co-operative management of land and other resources and organisation of collective farming; relief to the persons suffering from natural calamities and opening of fair price shops, propagation and encouraging improved rural housing schemes, installation of smokeless chulahas, ventilators and organisation of voluntary labour, strengthening of voluntary social welfare organisation and coordinating their activities.

Some states have provision for the formulation of separate standing committees for social welfare, while some others deal with health, education etc. In Andhra Pradesh, we find provision for two committees, welfare of women and children and the social welfare committee. The social Justice Committee in Gujarat has played a key role in the allotment of house sites, plots to landless labourers and other weaker sections and in obtaining loans from financial institutions and the government.

It is evident that there is confusion about social welfare. Lots of things inconsistent with the subject go under the name of social welfare. The term has a specific meaning. Often confusion occurs because sometimes the social welfare is used to denote a purpose, an aim or the ideal while at other times it is used in the sense of its restricted content.

Panchayati Raj in its operation is passing through many challenges. It has different patterns in different states. There is no uniformity with regard to its constitution, powers and functions.

In the pre-panchayati Raj period welfare services were characterised by individual relief work and charity. After the establishment of panchayati raj institutions they came to be looked upon as bodies through which a systematic attack could be made on the problem as such. The main role of leaders of panchayati raj in social welfare would be in the sphere of coordination, supervision, implementation, promotion and strengthening of welfare services. The leaders of panchayati raj are engaged in the decision-making level. As the subject of social welfare is under various ministries and there is no uniform grouping of contents of social welfare, the best role of leaders of panchayati raj would be to serve as an implementor and coordinator of the government sponsored programmes and the programmes of voluntary agencies. Implementation of these programmes studied under the heads such as analysis of the situation, fixing of objectives, planning for execution, execution of the plan and obtaining people's participation in the implementation of the programme, evaluation of the plan would throw light on the role rural leaders could and are expected to play.

The major endeavour of the leaders could be to generate consciousness about the need. This could be done through formal discussions within the organisation and also through an informal discussion with the people,

The primary aim is to motivate people to think seriously about specific problems of their areas and consider the possibility of solving them by joint efforts in which the help of the official machinery could also be obtained. The role pattern of different leaders who showed wide differences in their behaviour pattern was studied. It was noted that the rural leaders had participated in all the five stages of decision-making. In respect of 'analysis of the situation' it was found that at the village level, leaders took interest in understanding the programme proposals which they received from the official agencies and getting them sanctioned for their village. At the block level, leaders were, in general, more keen on establishing personal contacts with the government officials. At the district level, there prevailed an atmosphere of general apathy among the leaders of higher socio-economic status and a near complete non-participation in the decision-making process among those who belonged to the lower status group. In respect of 'fixing of objectives' it was found that individual's liking or disliking had a great role to play in deciding the priorities. As far as majority support is concerned caste and such other undemocratic considerations played an important role. Regarding the 'planning for execution' the analysis revealed that majority of the leaders did not make any effort to win over the cooperation of the dissident group after the formal decision was over. With regard to the 'execution of the plan' majority of leaders did not bother for the public support. A large number had even no idea about their duties. Very few of the leaders had gone to the people and had made efforts to motivate them for their cooperation and participation. Even the very few who had made efforts had employed methods which were by and large devoid of democratic consideration.

The analysis of the role of rural leaders in social welfare programme thus indicated that the effectiveness of leaders would depend how far and how long the issues are discussed in public. Low degree of participation would affect the effectiveness.

The welfare services are practically nil in the rural areas. The public and private agencies are mostly active in urban areas. Urban public is more conscious and informed about the availability of the services. It is good that Social Welfare has been handled in a confused way with little understanding of its meaning and implications as far as rural areas are concerned. The role of the leaders in such circumstances should be to develop the concept of social welfare in rural areas so as to distinguish it from the concept in urban areas; undertake surveys from time to time as the various social problems to get first hand knowledge of their magnitude and urgency and evaluate the already implemented programme; since it may not be possible to cover all the social problems, a selected few could be attacked concentratedly; educate people about the availability of services, and assist execution of the programmes.

The role that the leaders of panchayati raj have to play is a very significant role in the field of social welfare. The economic development programme must be supported by social development programmes without which balanced growth is difficult to be achieved. □

Administration of Anti-Poverty Programmes in Rural Andhra Pradesh

G. Haragopal

POVERTY is one of the inhuman products of a historical process of a socio-economic system. It is in this process a large section of the toiling masses have been reduced to a sub-human level and are deprived of basic necessities of life. There has been an intense debate about the methodological and ideological aspects of poverty. Although no scientific and universally accepted definition could be offered, it has come to be recognised that poverty in one form or the other exists all over the world, more specifically in the developing countries. Its manifestations are clearly visible in undernourishment, underemployment and unemployment, indebtedness, insecurity¹ and world wide unrest. It is in this background a scientific enquiry into poverty and the strategies for its abolition assume importance.

There are broadly three types of explanations for the existence of poverty. Traditional and religious explanation for the poverty has been the karma or fate theory. This approach finds the causes for poverty outside the socio-economic structure of the society.² The second type of explanation blames the factors such as population density, low level of the productivity of the labour, relatively poor natural resources, defective balance of trade³, and market imperfection. The third school radically differs from the other two and maintains that poverty is an outcome of social and

¹Milton J. Esman, *Landlessness and Nearlandlessness: Developing Countries*, Rural Development Committee, Centre for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1978, pp. 121-27.

²This point is discussed at length by Paulo Friere in his book, *Cultural Action for Freedom*, Penguin, London.

³Gunnar Myrdal, *The Challenge of World Poverty*, The Penguin Press, 1970, pp. 30-45.

economic inequality in the society⁴ and it is the exploitation of man that largely accounts for the staggering dimensions of poverty⁵. It is rightly observed that abject poverty coexists with both wealth and affluence⁶. K N Raj summed up these approaches aptly that 'reactions of the people to acute poverty and misery among fellow human beings are as curious as they are diverse. Some look upon it as a result of laziness, extravagance, lack of initiative, superstitious beliefs and the like, some see in mass poverty the gross discrepancies and injustices of the economic and political system.'⁷

Poverty is ubiquitous in India. However, while considerable poverty can be seen in the cities, the greatest amount of real poverty is probably in the rural areas.⁸ It is further pointed out that the greatest aggregation of poverty appears from many indications, to be among the landless rural wage workers and their families.⁹ The numerical strength the landless and near landless as shown in Tables 1 and 2 reflects largely the magnitude of poverty.¹⁰

Tables 1 and 2 indicate that as many as 53 per cent of the landless and near-landless in India are poor. The huge dimensions of the poverty in rural areas is more strikingly pointed out in the study of Minhas who

TABLE 1 MAGNITUDE OF POVERTY IN SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES

Country	Population (Millions)	Rural popula- tion as % of total popula- tion	No. of rural house-holds ('000)	LNC as % of rural household
Bangladesh	75	91	11,848	75
India	548	80	86,000	53
Jawa, Indonesia	86	82	9,390	85
Philippines	39	68	4,434	78
Sri Lanka	12.5	84	1,888	77

⁴Amartya Sen, "Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment: Some Conceptual Issues in Measurement," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 8, No. 31-33, Nov. 1973, p. 1457.

⁵Ranjit Sau, "On Rural Poverty: A Tentative Hypothesis", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 8, No. 56, 1973, p. 2564.

⁶Goran D. Jurfeldt and Staffan Lindsbergh, *Behind Poverty Social Formation in a Tamil Village*, Oxford and IBH, New Delhi, 1976, p. 81.

⁷K.N. Raj, "Poverty, Politics and Development: Western Europe in First Half of 19th Century and South Asia in Second Half of the 20th", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 12, Nos. 6, 7 and 8 (Annual No. 1977), p. 191.

⁸Colin Clark, "Extent of Hunger in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. VII, No. 40, 1972, p. 2036.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Milton J. Esman, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

TABLE 2 THE STRUCTURE OF POVERTY IN SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES

Country	Agrl. workers	Non- Agrl. Workers	Marginal cultiva- tors	Marginal tenants	Other	(Percentage)	
						LNC of total Rural house- hold	No. of NL ('000)
Bangladesh	5	20	45	5	—	75	8,91
India	27	10	13	3	—	53	45,00
Jawa, Indonesia	41	—	19	25	1	85	7,95
Philippines	11	17	30	111	9	78	3,43
Sri Lanka	13	40	24	A	—	77	1,88

SOURCE: Milton J. Esman, *Landlessness and Near-landlessness in Developing Countries*, Rural Development Committee, Centre for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1978.

mentions, "out of 164 million people below the poverty line, 60 million people belong to rural labour households and the remaining 103 to 104 million belong to land operating households who possess small land holdings".¹¹

According to the agricultural census of 1970-71 nearly 70 per cent of the rural households had operational holdings of 5 acres or less and 51 per cent had 2.5 or less. Since the number of holdings reported by the census was 70.4 million, these ratios imply that about 49 million holdings belong to the category of small farmers, of which 36 million were marginal farmers. As for landless workers their number was estimated in the draft plan 1978-83 as 50.4 million in 1971.¹² It is in view of sheer numerical strength of these categories the development programmes devised for these sections assume considerable importance.

Studies conducted on poverty in India focused their attention mainly on hunger as it is considered the most critical component of poverty. Commenting on this aspect Myrdal observed "the hidden hunger due to low calloery intake and particularly the lack of protective nutrients gives rise to serious health risks and more generally, to lethargy and lack of initiative and drive".¹³ Colin Clark drew the attention to the fact that approximately one-fourth of India's people, mostly the landless rural wage workers and their families, are living in hunger, even on the minimum estimates of the

¹¹B.S. Minhas, *Planning and the Poor*, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 74-75.

¹²Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, *Compendium of Instructions of SFDA and MFAL Project*, Department of Rural Development, 1975, p. 1.

¹³Gunnar Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

amount of physical work done.¹⁴ Bardhan's study revealed that "the percentage of rural people below the minimum level of living had significantly gone up from 38 per cent in 1960-61 to 54 per cent in 1968-69. It means in absolute numbers it rose from about 135 millions to 230 millions".¹⁵

Dandekar and Rath's analysis showed "in 1960-61 about one-third of the rural people and half of the urban population lived on diet inadequate even in respect of calories".¹⁶ They further pointed out that "the conditions of the bottom 20 per cent remained more or less stagnant."¹⁷ On the basis of this trend they forecast "by 1980-81 the poverty will have grown in absolute size and in urban areas it will have deepened."¹⁸ This led them to conclude that it would take 35 years after 1980-81 for the per capita consumption to reach the nationally desirable minimum level of consumption.¹⁹

Poverty in India is not of recent origin. Its genesis can clearly be seen in the historical records in the birth of feudalism which took a shape from 300 AD to 1200 AD. And it existed unchecked and governed the lives of the people throughout the history.²⁰ The serious and irreparable damage of such a consistently high degree of poverty over a period of time can be seen in frightening observation made by one of the anthropologists of India when he reported "Indians have been growing shorter and losing body weight in the last one or two generations. He attributed this to process of adaptation to malnutrition and suggested that Indians were becoming smaller so that they would require lesser food."²¹

After the advent of independence the policy formulators time and again pronounced that the government would pay its utmost attention to the problems of poverty.²² All the five year plan documents elaborately discuss the problem of poverty and the measures the plan proposes to undertake. It was during these three decades, innumerable programmes and a host of new institutions sprung up to develop the small farmers, marginal farmers, landless labourers, the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and other weaker sections of the society. Several Acts are passed by the parlia-

¹⁴Colin Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 2026.

¹⁵Pranab K. Bardhan, "On the Incidence of Poverty in Rural India of the Sixties", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 8, Nos. 4 and 5, February, 1973, p. 245.

¹⁶V.M. Dandekar and Neelakanta Rath, "Poverty in India: Dimensions and Trends" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1971, pp. 29-30.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁰A thorough treatment of this point is made by Dwivedi, See, D.N. Dwivedi, *Economic Concentration and Poverty in India*, Datta Book Centre, Delhi, 1974, pp. 21-48.

²¹This is the observation made by Pranab Ganguly of Anthropological Survey of India, quoted by B.M. "Redefining Poverty", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 12, Nos. 6-7.

²²One of the first statements Charan Singh made after being nominated as Prime Minister was about abolition of poverty. See, *The Hindu*, July 27, 1979.

ment and the state legislatures in respect of tenancy rights, land reforms, minimum wages, bonded labour, rural indebtedness, etc. Nevertheless several studies on antipoverty programmes revealed that the gap between rich and poor got widened during this period.²³ Dantwala also subscribes to the view that the policy package for the reduction of poverty and inequality has not made any significant impact on the problem.²⁴ It is felt that even during the emergency "it was not the poor who were benefited by the development programme".²⁵

The foregoing analysis indicate the magnitude of poverty and continuous failure to tackle it effectively. The phenomenon of poverty and measures for its removal require to be analysed scientifically and the solutions are to be found in the light of such findings. Here a micro analysis of two anti-poverty programmes, the Small Farmer Development and the Bonded Labour in Konda,²⁶ district of Andhra Pradesh is made. Although the other anti-poverty programmes are equally important they are not discussed due to limitations of time, space and resources.

These programmes are chosen in view of the fact that they are expected to cover all the rural people who are hard hit by poverty. Under these programmes several measures are proposed for improving the standard of living of these neglected millions. An examination of these two programmes would throw light on the effectiveness of these measures in reducing poverty. The study is based on observation, official reports and discussion with both the officers and beneficiaries of these programmes. Although no broad generalisations are possible, such studies would provide insights on the basis of which some meaningful lessons could be learnt.

THE SMALL FARMER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

One of the programmes initiated after two decades of independence in the year 1969-70 was a special programme for the benefit of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers.²⁷ These categories constitute the bulk of the rural poor as it was already pointed out.

To start with, 87 small farmer development projects were started all

²³A.J. Fonseca da Costa (ed.), *A Portrait of Indian Poverty in Challenge of Indian Poverty*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1971; D.K. Desai, "Intensive Agricultural District Programme Analysis of Results", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. IV, No. 26, 1969; Mukul Dube, "On the Widening Gap between Rich and Poor in Rural India", in Scarlett Epstein and Darrell Jackson (eds.), *The Paradox of Poverty*, The Macmillan, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 87-96.

²⁴M.L. Dantwala, "Poverty: Not by Statistics Alone", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 10, No. 16, April 1975, p. 663.

²⁵B.M., *op. cit.*, p. 166.

²⁶A Pseudonym is given to the district.

²⁷Raj Krishna, "Small Farmer Development", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 14, May 26, 1979, p. 913.

over the country in the Fourth Plan period.²⁸ In Andhra Pradesh originally three projects were started, subsequently the number was raised to fifteen. Each project has to cover 50,000 persons as part of their improvement programme. The schemes are intended to bring the benefits of modern technology to the small and marginal farmers and employment programmes for agricultural labourers to raise their standard of living. The schemes that are included under this programme are: intensive agricultural development, multiple cropping, development of land, soil conservation, bunding and levelling, water using management techniques, dry farming methods, development of irrigation facilities both underground and surface water by undertaking wells, tube wells, community irrigation wells, lift irrigation wells. In order to provide subsidiary income, animal husbandry programmes like supplying milch animals, sheep, poultry and piggery units, are also included.²⁹

The organisation proposed to carry out this programme at the central level is the ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation which is charged with the overall responsibility of taking care of this programme. At the state level a senior officer from the Department of Agriculture is to be incharge of this scheme. His main task is to ensure proper coordination among the various agencies dealing with small farmers and to evaluate the programme from time to time. In addition to this officer, there is also a state level coordination and review committee consisting of a senior officer, representatives of financing institutions besides the representatives of agriculture and development departments concerned.³⁰

At the district level, the district collector is made the chairman of the project. There is a full time project officer, assisted by two to three assistant project officers. These officers are on deputation from the government. The SFDA in addition to the chairman consists of one representative from the central government and three representatives of the state government which includes one official member and two nominated non-official members. Representative of the land development bank, chairman of central co-operative bank and chairman of the zila parishad and chairmen of other local bodies concerned are also members of SFDA.³¹

The SFDA has to implement all its programmes through various departments situated at the district level, which includes all the development departments and credit institutions like banks. And at the field level it is the panchayati raj institutions, particularly the panchayat samiti which is the key agency, through which the programmes are implemented. Thus the effective functioning of the SFDA depends upon coordination

²⁸Government of India, *Compendium of Instructions SFDA/MFAL Projects*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

²⁹Project Report, Small Farmer Development Agency, Konda.

³⁰Letter No. 15-1/70, Agriculture Credit, dt. 18-5-1970.

³¹Letter No. II-21/69, Agricultural Credit, dt. 19-11-1969, Letter No. 11011/2-74.

among the various agencies. Further, the commitment on the part not only of the project officer and his staff,³² but even of the other district officers and field officers such as extension officers and village development officers, whose contributions in a large measure decide the success or failure of this agency.

To examine the stresses and strains and to gain deeper insight into the working of SFDA, a case study of Konda SFDA is undertaken. Although the SFDA scheme was conceived in the year 1969-70, the SFDA in Konda came into being on January 20, 1976 and started functioning from April 1976. The agency was given Rs. 150 lakhs for the purpose of subsidy towards implementation of developmental activities.

Jurisdiction of the agency was confined to six of fourteen samitis in the district. The Samities were selected on the criteria that they were relatively backward but had the necessary infrastructure such as banks, roads and other facilities. Another consideration was scheduled caste population and low levels of income of the people in the Samiti.

The Konda SFDA has undertaken five types of programmes mainly relating to agriculture, cooperative, marketing, minor irrigation and animal husbandry. Under agriculture, items such as plough, bullocks, carts, plant protection equipments, fruit plants and input subsidy are included. Under cooperation they covered risk cover fund, share capital loan to Farmer's Service Credit Societies and managerial subsidy. Minor irrigation programme included well sinking, repairs of old wells, oil engines and electric motors. The animal husbandry included milch animals, sheep units, goat units and piggery units.

Tables 3 and 4 indicate the targets and achievements of Konda SFDA during the years 1976-77 to 1979-80.

Tables 3 and 4 reveal that the agency although started with a high ambition of covering 50,000 beneficiaries and to spend about Rs. 150 lakhs, it could hardly achieve its targets. The agricultural labourers who are the main target group have remained neglected as the agency could not cover more than 21 per cent of them in its programmes. The analysis further reveals that, contrary to the expectations, the percentage of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes covered was only 44 per cent although they constitute the bulk of the rural poor.

The present investigation highlights the following deficiencies of the strategy for the development of the rural poor through small farmers development.

The small farmer development agency is not equipped with any specialised staff for the implementation of the programme. They complain that the extension officers and the village development officers have not

³²Through the letter No. 11-21/69, Agricultural credit, dt. 22-8-1970, it was mentioned that the State Government should place good officers with drive and experience at different levels in the district selected for SFDA programmes.

TABLE 3 DETAILS OF TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

<i>Items</i>	<i>Physical</i>		<i>Financial</i>	
	<i>Targets</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Targets (in Rs. lakhs)</i>	<i>Achievements</i>
Agriculture	27,488	3,918	29.49	10.11
Cooperation	4,303	—	15.38	6.86
Marketing	4	—	4.00	1.84
Minor irrigation	9,205	2,397	94.99	25.38
Animal husbandry	4,793	2,315	30.49	13.16
GRAND TOTAL	45,893	8,630	174.35	57.36

SOURCE: A detailed note on the working of Small Farmers Development Agency prepared by the Agency.

TABLE 4 DETAILS ABOUT THE CATEGORY OF BENEFICIARIES

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Act</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	Small farmers	3,444	40
2.	Marginal farmers	3,384	39
3.	Agricultural labourers	1,802	21
GRAND TOTAL		8,630	100

been extending the necessary cooperation either in identifying the beneficiaries or in implementing the developmental programmes.

It is also observed that SFDA, which has to depend on various agencies including the district collector, is not able to get their cooperation at the district level. This problem is more acute with the institutions like commercial banks, cooperative banks without whose cooperation the success of SFDA cannot be ensured. For instance the banking culture continues to be security oriented rather than service oriented.³³ They are more worried about the repayment of loan than the other factors such as the need for the loan, soundness of the scheme and the spirit of the policy. As a result agricultural labourers generally cannot get loans. And it is reported that SFDA cannot do much in this respect. Here it is pertinent to remark that no reliable statistics or information are available till today about various

³³M. Kistaiah, "Banking for the Poor", *Seminar*, No. 227, July 1978.

categories of people who require immediate attention of the SFDA. Nor are any viable schemes developed for the benefit of agricultural labourers.

Programmes intended for landless labourers ran into severe difficulties. These schemes cannot be taken up without some agricultural land which the agricultural labourers do not possess.³⁴ Even if the poor are willing to take up these programmes by giving up their daily wage employment, these schemes start generating incomes only after about six months and in the meantime they cannot go on starving. The fact that they have no land and that there is no provision for consumption loan renders most of these schemes ineffective.³⁵

The programmes are also ridden with certain practical problems, which makes it difficult for the SFDA to function effectively. For instance a Harijan was given a milch animal but he could not market the milk as the villagers refused to buy it from an 'untouchable'. In another instance a Harijan was given a toothless milch animal which could not consume fodder properly. In the third instance milch animals were given to some agricultural labourers of a village, where there was no Dairy Centre for purchasing the milk. Even where there were such centres it was observed that they buy milk only one time leaving the evening milk unpurchased. Fourthly, with regard to the subsidy amount to small and marginal farmers in the purchase of oil engines, the subsidy is to the tune of 20 per cent of the cost. But they have to purchase the oil engine from the authorised dealer only, who sells it at price higher than in the open market. Thereby the real beneficiary is the dealer not the farmer.

It has been observed that there has been the emergence of 'Pyraveekars', who mediate between the rural poor and the bureaucratic elite. The institution of Pyraveeker is an outcome of illiteracy, lack of awareness about the new programmes, lack of exposure of the rural masses to the bureaucratic rigmarole and lack of resources with the poor to go from pillar to the post. The well off sections in the village who have been the 'patrons' of the poor have entered into these new roles to make easy money on one hand and perpetuate the dependence of the poor on them on the other. The bureaucracy is also pleased to deal with the Pyraveekars than the illiterate, uninformed poor. The Pyraveekar has done considerable damage to these programmes intended for the poor people, for he does not have any commitment to the poor. He has increasingly subjected the poor to the manipulative techniques and landed him in the cobwebs of corruption. A senior SFDA officer explained that it is the Pyraveekars who are instigating the innocent poor people not to repay the loans telling them that these loans would be written off. On the instigation of these persons they apply for loan for 'needs' they do not actually feed; which

³⁴For instance poultry units, milch animal, sheep and goat units also require a piece of land for the purposes of fodder.

³⁵Instances are not lacking where the loans are used for the consumption purposes.

renders them poorer. Those who are not entangled with the Pyraveekar not only utilise the loan but pay back the amount promptly.

A major constraint on these programmes is the opposition from the vested interests. One officer of the rank of the deputy director remarked that "most of the landowning people do not welcome these programmes. They do their best to sabotage them in one way or the other. For they think that these programmes would adversely affect their interests. For instance the development programmes for the agricultural labourers are supposed to go directly against the interests of the landowning class".³⁶ This is a clear manifestation of the existing contradiction in the rural society which makes the anti-poverty programmes ineffective.

A major finding of the study is that most of the so called small farmers are not really small. There is a large-scale manipulation of the land records. As a result the recipient of the programme is not the intended beneficiary, *i.e.*, the small and marginal farmer.³⁷

These programmes also become ineffective in the absence of proper supervision and evaluation as to who is benefited by the schemes. This keeps the policy formulator in the dark and the performance is judged more by the expenditure incurred than its actual use. As a result the officers in charge of these programmes are more bothered about how to spend the money than how to ensure its effective utilisation.

All these constraints and deficiencies tend to make an anti-poverty programme like small farmers development programmes ineffective.

THE PROGRAMME FOR ABOLITION OF THE BONDED LABOUR

The bonded labour is a startling manifestation of widespread and deep rooted poverty in the society. It exists in different forms in different parts of India.³⁸ The practice of bonded labour was declared illegal as early as 1843.³⁹ However, the proclamation of ordinance in October, 1975 and subsequent enactment of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act,⁴⁰ in

³⁶They generally think that these schemes would result in scarcity of labour which in turn would lead for a demand for higher wages. On the same grounds they are opposed to even a programme like adult education, see, G. Haragopal, "Literacy and Education", *Seminar*, No. 235, March 1979, p. 28.

³⁷In one village it was discovered that almost all those who were categorised as small farmers were big farmers.

³⁸Its forms are: Aiyamar, Baramasia, Bethu, Bhagela, Cherumar, Garru Galu, Hali, Hari, Harwad Jana, Jeetha, Kamiya, Mhundit-Aundit, Kulthia, Lakhari, Manijhi, Mat, Munish system, Nit-Majoor, Paleru, Padiyal, Pannayailal, Sagri, Sanji, Sanjwat, Sewak, Sewakia, Seri, Vetti.

³⁹Government of Andhra Pradesh, the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 (Central Act No. 19 of 1976); Government Central Press, Hyderabad, 1976 (hereafter it will be called as Bonded Labour Act).

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 1.

1976 marks the beginning of governmental effort to tackle the problem. It was enacted "with a view to preventing the economic and physical exploitation of the weaker sections of the people."⁴¹

'The Bonded Labour System' means the system of forced, or partly forced labour into which a debtor enters, or has, or is presumed to have entered by an agreement with the creditor.⁴² They must have entered into this agreement in pursuance of any customary or social obligation, or in pursuance of an obligation which has developed on him by succession or for any economic consideration received by him or by any of his lineal ascendants or descendants or by reason of his birth in any particular caste or community. And the result of such an agreement might have rendered the individual to serve the creditor for specified or unspecified period. This also makes the person to forfeit his freedom of employment or other means of livelihood, or forfeit the right to move freely or sell his property, product of his labour or the labour of a member of his family. All this explains the varied dimensions of the problem of bonded labour.

The administrative machinery that is charged with the responsibility of implementing the programme is headed by the District magistrate. He is expected to promote the welfare of the free bonded labour by securing and protecting the economic interests of such bonded labour so that he may not have any occasion or reason to contract any further bonded debt. There are also vigilance committees consisting of three persons belonging to the scheduled castes or scheduled tribes of the district, two social workers resident in the district and one person representing the financial and credit institutions. (These committees are presided over by the district magistrate). All of them are nominated by the district magistrate for a period of one year. In addition to these members, the state government has to nominate three members to represent the official or non-official agencies connected with rural development in the district. A similar vigilance committee is to be constituted at the sub-divisional level with the sub-divisional magistrate playing the role of the district magistrate. The minor exceptions being that, while the three members are nominated by the state government in the case of district vigilance committee, they are nominated by the district magistrate⁴³ in the case of sub-divisional vigilance committees.

The bonded labour phenomenon is caused by a number of socio-economic factors. The genesis of bonded labour has to be traced to the origins of poverty which, in turn, is a result of exploitation. The incidence of debt bondage rose sharply with the monetisation of the rural economy.⁴⁴

⁴¹Bonded Labour Act, *op. cit.* 2.

⁴²Dharma Kumar, "Bonded Labour," *Seminar*, 198, February 1976, p. 18.

⁴³See, *The Bonded Labour Act*, pp. 6-8.

⁴⁴M.K.T., "Missing Number", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XI, No. 52, December 1975, p. 1983.

A labour ministry note on the subject hits on the right point when it observed, "given the imbalance between the demand and supply of labour in the rural labour market and also the scarcity of the institutional credit, it appears to be almost a consequence of a rural than an exception"⁴⁵. The age-old incidence of bonded labour like disease has also acquired the tone of fateful acceptance of the oppressed and rightful demand of the oppressor who ruled not merely the person of the bonded labour but his life, life-partners and possessions.

The nature and character of bonded labour are clearly exposed by the studies conducted in Bihar, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh.

In his article written in 1977 Hussain Dalwai, mentioned several cases of bonded labour.⁴⁶ To cite a few, a couple have been working on bonded labour for several years for the amount they did not remember. Another family was toiling for over eight years for a loan of Rs. 90. A third family had been in bonded labour for 12 years to pay off a loan of Rs. 197. In the fourth case a labour took a loan from a money lender to marry and the money lender took possession of his wife. For beating his wife, he was thrashed physically and had to flee from the village. He returned after six months when his efforts to get some work were frustrated and started working with the same person.

The studies by Sudipto Mundle on bonded labour in Bihar also brings out bonded labour cases. A young boy took a loan of Rs. 10 when his parents died and he had been working for last 18 years.⁴⁷ In another case a person took a loan of Rs. 140 on the occasion of his marriage at the age of 15 years and ever since he had been in bondage. In similar circumstances another person took a loan of 2 maunds of paddy and a pair of dhoties. For this he worked for forty years and his son for thirty years. In the fourth case a person had been working for several years for a loan of Rs. 40 which his father had taken. In the fifth case a 16 year old Harijan had become a bonded labour in 1975 for a total of three maunds of paddy, some clothes and Rs. 55. The sixth case is that of a boy who was working for a loan of Rs. 60 which his grandfather had taken.⁴⁸ Thus all cases of bonded labour sound similarly trite and monotonous but are torturous realities.

An action research project of Gandhi Peace Foundation pointed out several cases of bonded labour. A boy of 8 years old was sold for

⁴⁵M.K.T., *op. cit.*, p. 1983.

⁴⁶Hussain Dalwai, "Bonded Labour Continues", *Economics and Political Weekly*, Vol. XII, No. 22, May 28, 1977, pp. 867, 868-69.

⁴⁷Sudipto Mundle, "The Bonded of Palamau", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XI, No. 18, May 1, 1976, pp. 653-55.

⁴⁸Sudipto Mundle, *Backwardness and Bondage*, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 145-49.

Rs. 100 by his father. He has been working for the last 17 years. In another instance, a girl of 16 years was sold to a Brahmin towards a loan of Rs. 1,200. She was converted into a prostitute and became a source of income to the Brahmin. In the third case, a boy of 18 years old rendered as a bonded labour for Rs. 100 by his uncle to a landlord. But the boy was transferred from one hand to the other like property by his uncle. The fourth case is that of a boy who became a bonded labour at the age of seven for an amount of Rs. 150. He had been working for the last 25 years. In the fifth case a boy of 13 years old was mortgaged for Rs. 200 which he took to perform the death rites of his grand mother. He was freed after seven years only to become bonded again to get himself married.⁴⁹

In addition to these typical cases the surveys conducted on the problem revealed its enormity. It is estimated that between 4 to 5 per cent of the agricultural labour force suffer from bondage of one form or the other. On the conservative estimate this brings the actual number to between 6 to 7 lakhs.⁵⁰ In the survey conducted in eight states by Gandhi Peace Foundation it was revealed that the bonded labour accounted for 6.1 per cent of the total of 37 million agricultural labourers. This works out to 21.7 lakhs.⁵¹

This survey points out certain details which help us in understanding the phenomenon. About the amount of debt, 58.1 per cent took loan of Rs. 500, 19.9 per cent took Rs. 500-900, 21 per cent took Rs. 900. With regard to the period of bondage, 10 per cent are working since childhood, 10 per cent since 20 years, 56 per cent since 3 years, 33 per cent since one year. About the caste composition of the bonded labour, 84 per cent of them belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and the masters are from caste Hindus. From the masters 50 per cent keep only 1 bonded labourer, 41 per cent employ two to four and 3 per cent possess more than 10 bonded labourers. In respect of age, 83 per cent of the bonded labourers are below 40 years of age, 53.6 per cent are under 30 years and 21 per cent are below 20 years. These details bring out the gravity of the problems and its huge dimensions.

The incidence of bonded labour in Andhra Pradesh is quite high and it is more predominant in the Telangana region⁵². Although it exists in different forms, Jeetham and Vetti are in wides practice. Jeetham is a

⁴⁹Gandhi Peace Foundation and National Labour Institute, New Delhi, *National Survey on the Incidence of Bonded Labour, A Preliminary Report*, November 1978 (cycle).

⁵⁰M.K.T., *op. cit.*, p. 1983.

⁵¹The states included in the survey are, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, see, *The National Survey of the Incidence of Bonded Labour, op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁵²K. Ilaiyah, "Bonded Labour in Telangana: A Study", *Mainstream*, Vol. XVII, No. 30, p. 7.

contract into which the servant enters with the master. And Vetti is the work that various category of persons render to the landlords and rich peasants without any remuneration.⁵³ The incidence and the intensity of the bonded labour is evident from the report of an official of the Union Labour Ministry who detected a case of bonded labour which is typical. The case was that sixty Harijan families had among themselves about 70 to 80 acres of land in a village. By 1972, the process of alienation due to usury was completed. They work as farm hands quite often on the land that was theirs only till the recent past. Dispossessed and deprived of their independent and legitimate means of livelihood, they had to enter into debt contract for sheer survival which denied them their basic human rights of free movement and offer their labour to the highest bidder".⁵⁴

The problem of bonded labour in Konda district can throw some light on the micro dynamics of the problem. A few cases are analysed which are taken up after the ordinance was issued. Tables 5, 6 and 7 indicate the targets achieved during the year 1977-79.

TABLE 5 NUMBER OF FREED BONDED LABOUR

Sl. No.	Caste	Act	Percentage
1.	Scheduled Castes	390	69
2.	Scheduled Tribes	4	1
3.	Backward class	160	38.5
4.	Others	2	0.5
TOTAL		556	100.0

TABLE 6 AGE PARTICULARS OF THE LABOUR

Sl. No.	Age	Act	Percentage
1.	Below 14 years	74	13.5
2.	14 to 17 years	91	17.0
3.	Above 18 years	391	69.5
TOTAL		556	100.0

TABLE 7 LAND PARTICULARS OF THE LABOUR

Sl. No.	Land particulars	Act	Percentage
1.	Landless labour	442	80.4
2.	Labourers with below 2 acres land	114	19.6
TOTAL		556	100.0

⁵³K. Ilaiyah, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴M.K.T., *op. cit.*, pp. 1983-84,

Tables 5, 6 and 7 indicate that the identified bonded labour is overwhelmingly from the scheduled castes and landless labour. In some parts of India it is felt that the problem is more acute among the scheduled tribes.⁵⁵ Surprisingly there are about 20 per cent bonded labours even from those who possess small pieces of land. Further the data reveals that there are about 30 per cent bonded labour from the age group of below 18 years.

The nature and magnitude of bonded labour in Konda district can be assessed from one of the notes of the sub-collector who observed, "I found beneath the innocuous facade of the village, there exists agonising history of calculated exploitation and merciless extortion. Here there are to be seen cases of even aged men who have been bonded since their early childhood, cases of young boys, not yet ten, not yet old enough to release their helplessness, who are in bondage and even a case of a boy who was studying in the Xth class at Hyderabad returned home on an occasion and fell into unending bondage".⁵⁶ The sub-collector also found cases of bondage since birth. Most of them fell into bondage during bad years. He observed that 'the mildest vagary of nature left them helpless and forced them to seek loan from landlords which made them bonded labour'.⁵⁷

The Government of India suggested that the freed bonded labour should be given assistance under the scheme in the form of distribution of house sites, allotment of agricultural lands, free education to the children, loans for agricultural operations.⁵⁸ In addition to these schemes, supplying of ploughs, bullocks, milch animals, providing poultry, sheep breeding, piggery units could also be introduced. In spite of such a big list of schemes the bonded labour problem remains largely unsolved.

The implementation of bonded labour programme like small Farmers development encountered several difficulties. In a letter circulated by the district collector, there is ample evidence to state that the programme was not taken seriously by the field administration.⁵⁹ In the letter it was stated that special steps should be taken to ensure that land distributed to scheduled tribes continues under their ownership, milch animals supplied should be provided timely veterinary aid, rate of calf mortality must be checked and the cases of the bonded labour edged again into the fold of landlords should be effectively checked. The tone of the letter was clearly indicative of the casual way the programmes are taken up by the field administration. Even during the emergency not much could be accomplished because of inadequate legislation and insufficient and

⁵⁵G.B. Sharma, "Abolition of Bonded Labour in India: Some Administrative Dimensions," *Administrative Change*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Jan-June, 1977, p. 225.

⁵⁶D.O. Letter, dated 13-2-1977.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸G.O.Ms. No. 340, dated 29-3-1976.

⁵⁹D.O. Letter No. B-6/2294/78, dated 28-6-1978.

ineffective administrative arrangements.⁶⁰

The letter pointed out two specific cases which provide an insight into the implementation of the programme. In one village two persons who were released from bonded labour lapsed into bondage. In another case they pointed out that some persons were constructing houses by borrowing funds from the landlords. They were in the process of entering into bondage once again.

In addition to the official reports, the following instances throw light on the problems involved in abolition of bonded labour. In one village a bonded labour was asked to pay back the loan which he could not. The landlord beat him severely. He lodged a complaint with the tehsildar and sought protection. The Tahsildar did not pay any attention to the complaint. Subsequently the victim appealed to the sub-collector to take some action on the landlord. The sub-collector instructed the tehsildar to look into the matter and report to him within five days about the action. The tehsildar did not initiate any steps on this letter. The sub-collector again ask the tehsildar to investigate and report to him within three days. In the whole process considerable time was lost and by the time the tahsildar reached the village the bonded labour was left with no option but to enter into a compromise with the landlord. The tehsildar in his reply to the sub-collector's letter reported that the parties were willing for a compromise to settle their differences and, therefore, no official action was necessary.

In another instance in a village eight bonded labours demanded that their 'Jeetham' should be raised. The landlords did not agree and they got the labour beaten up, in which all the eight were injured and were hospitalised. No action was taken against the landlords and the bonded labours had to enter into a compromise with the landlord within a week.

The third instance is that of three cobblers who were freed from the bonded labour and were given loan to start chappal shops. However, this proved a futile exercise as there was no demand for the chappals. The fourth instance is that of a bonded labour who was given a milch animal but he found no market for the milk. One bonded labour was given a pair of bullocks but he had no land.

In another case two bonded labours were freed and given Rs. 100 in cash and Rs. 100 in kind. After the amount was spent they approached the tehsildar and sought his help. The tehsildar who did not know what to do advised them to join back the landlords with whom they were working earlier.

Two bonded labours reported that they had to go several times to the officers and markets (cattle stands) to buy animals with the money given by the government after they were freed from bonded labour in which

⁶⁰G.B. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

they incurred an expenditure of Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 which they could hardly afford.

In a survey it was revealed that the amounts given are meagre in nature and the land provided is not sufficient to feed even two persons. It was also found that the land given was not fit for cultivation.⁶¹ All these cases indicate that as an anti-poverty programme bonded labour programme is not adequately envisaged by the government. As the problem is deep rooted and has wider socio-economic dimensions, a commensurate effort in terms of greater dedication, serious mindedness and all inclusive understanding of the phenomenon may be required to grapple with the problem.

The unimpressive performance of the anti-poverty programme as well as the small farmer's development programme is the result of vested interests. These interests are powerful that bureaucracy cannot withstand the pressure. For instance a sub-collector in Konda district who took the programme of bonded labour very seriously was transferred in a very short period.⁶² And in most of the cases bureaucracy has an understanding with the landlords. Hussain Dalwai pointed out that when labour runs away from the village the local police not only brings him to the village but subjects him to severe beating and torture.⁶³

The programme of bonded labour instead of being entrusted to a separate or to a development agency, is entrusted to the revenue department which continues to be colonial in nature. It believes in coercive techniques and thinks that society can be controlled only through fear mechanism.⁶⁴ Such an agency would have only negative involvement and not positive commitment.

It is also observed that no viable schemes are formulated which could generate regular income to the freed labour. For the problem is neither legal nor administrative. It is essentially economic. The government can neither employ the labouring population nor support them with assets except for small periods and in limited numbers. This makes them dependent on the land owners.⁶⁵

Any anti-poverty programme requires comprehensive planning and determined implementation. Further these programmes are bound to cause tensions as they are change-oriented. No socio-economic system would

⁶¹Mohan Rao, *Problem of Bonded Labour*. A dissertation submitted to Department of Public Administration, Kakatiya University, 1979 (unpublished).

⁶²It was believed that he was transferred because he took the bonded labour programme seriously. It is the same sub-collector from whose report an extract is given in the earlier part of this essay.

⁶³Hussain Dalwai, *op. cit.*, p. 869.

⁶⁴See for details, G. Haragopal, "Regulatory vs. Development: A Conflict Between Two Administrative Sub-cultures in Rural Development", *Journal of Administration Overseas*, London (to be published).

⁶⁵Sudipto Mundle, "The Bonded of Palamau", *op. cit.*, p. 656.

yield to such programmes without offering resistance. The bureaucracy, it appears, is not able to face the resistance. Excepting a few officers, most of the officers feel closer to the landlords than to the poor. The result of such an approach is slow progress in the implementation of such anti-poverty programmes.

ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMMES AND BUREAUCRACY

An analysis of the above two anti-poverty programmes, indicates the heavy responsibility thrust on bureaucracy. Of all the change instruments, bureaucracy, has emerged as the key instrument.⁶⁶ In the case of both the anti-poverty programmes discussed in this paper the district collector (divisional magistrate) the project officer and sub-divisional magistrate are charged with the responsibility of implementing these programmes. These officers depend to a large extent, on their subordinate staff in getting the programmes translated into reality. It is generally felt that the bureaucracy at the field level has not been able to deliver the goods. It is complained that they lack commitment and sympathy for the poor. This is partly evident from the way the programmes are implemented in the Konda district. This may be because of the background in which they are born, brought up and trained. Therefore, an analysis of the background of bureaucracy in the district of Konda is given. The items that are examined in this regard, are the social composition, the skills available, the attitude and the morale of the employees.

The social background of the IAS officers who head the district administration indicates that they are drawn from the urban upper middle-class groups.⁶⁷ Their social base is narrow and their identification with lower strata of the society is dubious.⁶⁸ This is evident from the finding of a study that not more than forty per cent of the IAS officers concerned with the problems of rural labour know about the Acts dealing with the labour problem.⁶⁹ This indifference on the part of these key functionaries

⁶⁶Milton J. Esman, "Politics of Development Administration" in Montgomery and Siffins (ed.), *Approaches to Politics: Administration and Change*, Mac-Graw Hill Book Co., New York, 1966.

⁶⁷C.P. Bhambhri, "Higher Civil Service in India", *Overseas Journal of Administration*, London, Vol. VII, No. 4, October, 1969. Om Prakash, "Socio-economic Background of Regular Recruits to the IAS: A Study", *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Study*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Jan-March, 1978. V. Subramaniam, *Social Background of India's Administrators*, Government of India, Publication, Division, 1971.

⁶⁸Haridwar Roy and Sakendra Prasad Singh, "Indian Bureaucracy: A Case for Representativeness," *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Jan.-March, 1973, Vol. XIX, No. 1, p. 3.

⁶⁹It was found in a seminar of IAS Officers concerned with the problems with the rural labourers organised by National Labour Institute, New Delhi, see, Arvind Narayana Das, "Agricultural Labour in Bonded Freedom", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XI, No. 20, May 15, 1976, p. 726.

can be partly traced to the social background of the officers.

The social background of the employees working at the lower levels in the Konda district indicates the same trend. In a study on the social composition of these employees it was found that it is dominated by either forward castes or backward castes relatively more advanced. The representation to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other poorer classes is not significant. The study revealed that the bureaucracy is middle class in character and semi-urban in orientation.⁷⁰ Another study on the social composition of rural development, revealed that most of the employees are drawn from the urban-background forward castes and relatively advanced backward castes and the representation to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is less than 2 per cent. It also indicated that the development bureaucracy is predominantly middle-class in nature.⁷¹ This is further confirmed by Subramaniam's study who pointed out that civil services are inherently middle-class institutions and they are representatives of the dominant group in the society which is middle-class.⁷² This background assumes importance in the light of an observation made by Biplap Das Gupta who remarked that 'even the VLWS who come from well off sections are often eager to maintain close contacts with rich families, providing them with useful information and services in return for small favours'.⁷³

This social composition poses a challenging question to the anti-poverty programmes and raises the doubt whether the bureaucracy with its present social background can enthusiastically support and sincerely carry out the government policy aimed at a large scale radicalisation of the socio-economic structure of the country.⁷⁴ The middle-class bureaucracy in India is largely under the influence of 'sanskritisation'. It has aligned itself with the richer sections which resulted in its alienation from the poor. It was Donald Kingsley who argued that "bureaucracies are responsible to the extent they are broadly representative of all the classes in a state".⁷⁵ However another question that is raised in this regard is whether the recruits

⁷⁰G. Venkat Reddy, "Social Composition of District Bureaucracy: An Empirical Study", *The Administrator* (Journal of Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoori), Vol. XXII, Nos. 2 and 3, 1977.

⁷¹G. Haragopal and Ch. Balaramulu, *Social Composition of Rural Development Bureaucracy in a District of Andhra Pradesh*, Department of Public Administration, Kakatiya University (unpublished).

⁷²V. Subramaniam, "Representative Bureaucracy: A Reassessment", *American Political Science Review*, Dec., 1967, pp. 1010-1019. This is also supported by another study by, Grace Hall Saltustein, "Representative Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Responsibility" *Administration and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 4, February, 1979, pp. 465-475.

⁷³Biplap Das Gupta, "India's Green Revolution", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vols. 6, 7 and 8, Feb., 1977, p. 259.

⁷⁴Haridwar Roy and Sakendra Prasad Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁷⁵This doubt is raised particularly in respect of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes employees who, it is alleged, are as unhelpful towards their brothers as their other colleagues.

in representative bureaucracy take a positive and helpful attitude towards their respective class.⁷⁶ No such studies are done on Indian bureaucracy".⁷⁷ Although the idea of representative bureaucracy offers tentative solution, more permanent and scientific solutions are to be worked out.⁷⁸

The employee, it is obvious, shares the values of the class to which he belongs. As is evident from the tehsildar's approach to the problem of rehabilitation of bonded labour, most of the bureaucrats seem to take either casual or negative view of the problem. The only known device that is available to make him unlearn his values is well developed training programmes.⁷⁹ But even this attempt is not made. It is found that the training programmes for the staff at the district level are too inadequate. Several studies in this regard indicate that the government employees are either given insufficient training or no training.⁸⁰ They suffer from a low level of morale due to various causes such as lack of promotional opportunities, non-recognition of their work and also lack of perception, interest and commitment to the job.⁸¹

The bureaucracy which is middle-class oriented, unskilled, with low morale, appears to be on the verge of total breakdown. Such a bureaucracy is bound to acquire negative character which in turn will make it highly dysfunctional. The anti-poverty programmes require a bureaucracy full of energy, commitment and zeal for social transformation. Obviously the bureaucracy that exists today can hardly meet the challenge. The logical outcome of such a situation is tardy implementation of the programmes without making any dent on the hard realities of rural society.

⁷⁶J. Donald Kingsley. *Representative Bureaucracy*, Ohio Antioch Press, 1944, p. 279.

⁷⁷S.N. Jha, "Representative Bureaucracy: An Indication of Political Development", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 25, No. 2, April-June, 1979, p. 329.

⁷⁸How to alter the class character of the Indian bureaucracy should be considered as one of the major challenges to administrative theory.

⁷⁹Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behaviour*, Mac-Millan, New York, 1961, p. 16.

⁸⁰G. Haragopal and K. Murali Manohar. "Training for Indoor Staff: An Inquiry into the Needs and Attitudes", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XX, No. 1, Jan.: March, 1974, pp. 17-18; G. Haragopal and T. Srihari Rao, "Training for Field Staff, An Empirical Investigation", *Indian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-4, Jan-Dec. 1975, pp. 30-33; K. Murali Manohar and K. Seeta Rama Rao, "Training the Rank and File of Indian Bureaucracy Evaluation of a Government sponsored Training programme, Department of Public Administration, Kukatiya University (unpublished).

⁸¹G. Haragopal and K. Murali Manohar, "Some Aspects of Morale in the Rank and File of Indian Bureaucracy". *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1976, pp. 715-726. G. Haragopal and T. Srihari Rao, "Training for the Field Staff," *op. cit.*, p. 27; see also G. Haragopal, *Administrative Leadership in Panchayati Raj*, Ph. D. Thesis, Kakatiya University, Warangal, 1977 (unpublished).

CONCLUSION

Poverty has become one of the major challenges of the modern world. In spite of rapid scientific and technological advancement, there appears to be no decline in the incidence of poverty. On the other hand, it is observed, in countries like India the number of poor remained consistently high or is increasing. A large number of poor deprived of their basic necessities and even denied of adequate food to maintain their body indicates the degree of dehumanisation the system is subjected to. However, in modern time it is widely accepted that the poverty is man made. It is also accepted that "it is no longer inevitable or desirable and its abolition is universally advocated".⁸² In fact the general problem of the abolition of poverty has increasingly merged with, and has often become the foundation of, the social and political policy of Government.⁸³

In India, the government has, since the inception of independence, been emphasising the removal of poverty. All the five year plans elaborately discussed them and evolved schemes for its abolition. The programmes such as land reforms, small farmer development, abolition of bonded labour, rural indebtedness, minimum wage act, and Antyodaya are a testimony to this effort. Nevertheless, the problem of poverty remained unchecked. On the other hand there is substantial evidence to state that the gap between the poor and the rich is getting wider. Therefore, a scientific analysis of anti-poverty programme assumes immense significance.

In this study only two anti-poverty programmes, viz., small farmer development and abolition of bonded labour are analysed. These two programmes are considered crucial and symptomatic of the efforts done to eradicate poverty which is concentrated in the rural sector where the millions of landless and near-landless are under its yoke. Analysis of these two programmes, therefore, is expected to throw some light on the nature of the problem and provide insight into its complexities. □

⁸²E.J. Bhabhsawn, "Poverty", *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, The Mac-Millan Company and the Free Press, 1968, p. 401.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 403.

⁸⁴G. Ram Reddy, "Continuity and Change in the Administration for Development in India", in Manzoor Alam and G. Ram Reddy (eds.), *Socio-economic Development, Problems in South and South-East Asia*, Osmania University Press, 1979.

Small Farmer: Credit Constraints—A Paradigm

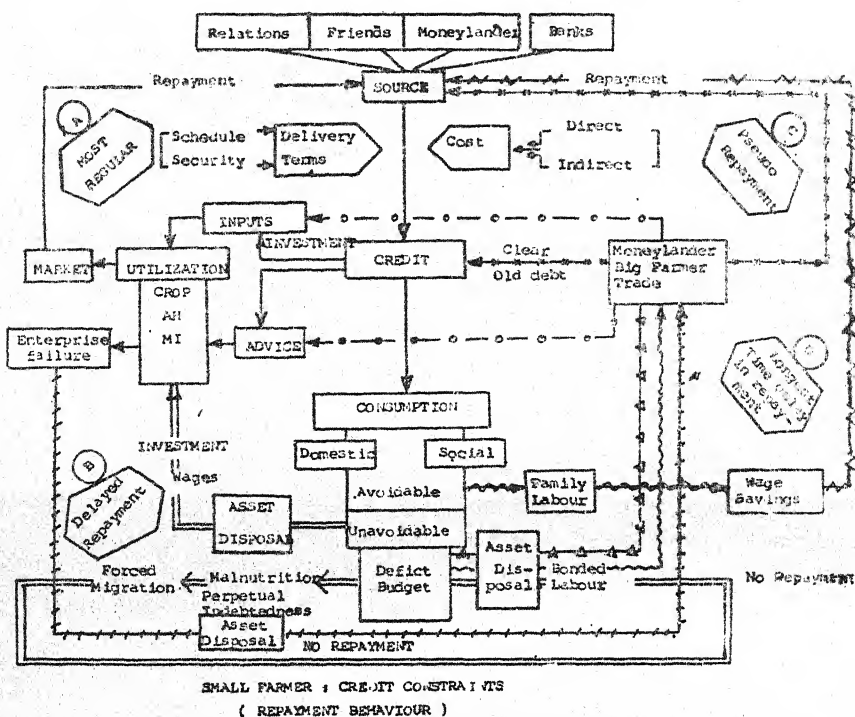
*Anil K. Gupta**

THE small farmer and agricultural labourers have very limited investment opportunities in rainfed regions. Any analysis aiming to explore the interaction of this class of farmers with various developmental efforts, must begin with the understanding of the initial resources management of small farmers. His capacity to manoeuvre the terms of exchange *vis-a-vis* various institutional agencies and informal sources offering credit, input and advice is highly limited by various factors forming an integral part of his internal cash flows. A paradigm presenting this aspect of small farmers' conditions has been given here (Fig. 1).

The capacity of a small farmer regarding converting available possible inputs with given advice into a profitable output depends on: (a) the sources of financial and material inputs; (b) the delivery mechanism of these sources; (c) the decision making options *vis-a-vis* allocation of resources in the given farm situation; (d) the sustenance of these investments; (e) the surplus produce left after providing for consumption, and its marketing (including transportation and price effects); and (f) repayment or re-cycling of the fund flow. If the economy of the farmer is in deficit the stages get modified depending upon the nature, extent and timing of deficit.

The small farmer due to risk and uncertain environmental conditions in rainfed regions, has a very precarious homeostatic balance supporting him in the society. In fact this balance often acquires a form of negative homeostatics due to heavy indebtedness, traditional technology, risk and drought effects in rainfed regions. This implies on the part of small farmer, a tendency to adjust against the sub-optional level of input invest-

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ment so as to ensure lesser but certain production. Thus the paradigm describes different paths that different classes of farmers in different farm situations may have to take to survive in a given socio-economic context. It would be interesting to see which stages should attract maximum attention from the project planners and how.

It has been assumed that once a farmer decides to enter the investment cycle, he may succeed in getting some credit from say relations, friends, money-lenders or banks. Referring to Fig. 1, we note that the farmer, before getting credit, has to agree to certain delivery terms and pay certain direct and indirect costs. The delivery terms include repayment schedule security, collateral/coobligant, direct costs (the rate of interest, service charges and other expenditure) and indirect costs (the transportation expenditure of the borrower and coobligant, in arranging collateral and other terms for finally getting the credit). These costs also include the commitment of labour and other resources made by an individual or his family to the source of credit. The supervisory follow-up, extension, advice, input purchase obtaining various other services also cost the farmer something directly or indirectly. In the above process, he has to forgo several investment options depending upon the credit

terms, cost of repayment schedule and security. The money-lender may be the input supplier as well as the source of advice, with the result what farmer has to do, how and at what cost, has already been determined for him in the credit market. The product market may also get inter-penetrated by credit market, if the same person is also the purchaser of the produce of this small farmer.

The different sub-sets in the figure present various possibilities that confront the small farmer in different farm situations once he has got the credit.

In the case of the most ideal sub-set (entitled Most Regular-A), assuming that farmer gets whatever inputs he wants with supporting technological advice, he may utilise this opportunity to invest the credit in such enterprises as Crop, Animal Husbandry (A.H.), Minor Irrigation (M.I.), etc. After taking up any one or more enterprises, the farmer would market the produce, hoping to get enough surplus to pay back the initial credit he took from whatever sources. Obviously this will be the shortest cash flow cycle running into single run of the enterprise. However, those who are familiar with the farmers' condition in rainfed regions know that such an ideal situation rarely exists.

The possibility is that due to vagaries of nature the enterprise may fail, with the result he looks either for more credit so as to come back into the investment cycle or goes to some money-lender, big farmer or a trader from where he takes further credit to repay the original source. This is a case of pseudo repayment given in sub-set C. Further implications of this may be that he resorts to the asset disposal or takes to the labour work or simply migrates out.

The pseudo repayment also results if a farmer after having taken the credit prefers to clear his old debt which he owes to somebody else. When need arises he takes further credit from this new source to pay back the old source. Such cycle obviously leads farmer to a state of perpetual indebtedness and hardships.

Another path before a farmer could be that he consumes the credit obtained for any domestic or social purpose which again could be avoidable or unavoidable. The classification of his consumption need as avoidable or unavoidable is somewhat arbitrary because some of the consumption requirement that is seemingly avoidable becomes unavoidable for the farmer due to social or cultural pressures. For example having fixed the marriage of a daughter, small farmer even at the cost of certain loss on account of sub-optimal investment in the economic enterprise, may decide to celebrate the marriage and thus enter further deficit. Likewise health-house or other social considerations may force the farmer to consume the credit. At this stage after having consumed the credit, he may enter the investment cycle through saving of the wages plus some further borrowings so as to repay the credit from the original source. For this he may

have to dispose of some of his assets like livestock, etc. (also to supplement his savings to enter enterprise/investment cycle, asset disposal may take place). This cycle as mentioned in sub-set B would be a case of delayed repayment. However, he may also choose to forgo the opportunity of investment because of either lack of access to further inputs or because of reduced faith in future returns (or for some other reasons) and he may decide to invest his own and the family's labour at other's farms or public works to earn the wages. The savings from these wages would go to pay the original source. Obviously this is the case of longest time delay in repayment as shown in sub-set D.

In the same case there could be another possibility. Farmer finds that even after having taken the credit from the original source, the social or domestic need has not been met completely and due to deficit budget he resorts to borrowing from the money-lender, big farmer, trader, etc. Efforts to meet gap may include disposal of assets besides other pursuits (as mentioned earlier). In that case either he commits the family labour to this new source of credit leading to bonded labour in which case he may never be able to pay the original source (or for that matter even the new source) or he may through malnutrition, perpetual indebtedness choose to escape and migrate out leading again to no repayment to the original source at all.

There are several other possibilities, depending upon the extent of the deficit remaining after paying the old source, and entering of farmer either in investment cycle or wages and savings cycle. The possibilities are also there, for the farmer after having taken the credit from some new source to pay back the old loan so that not only inputs but also advice is taken from the new source only. Such a situation would have far reaching implications for the future decision making options of a small farmer *vis-a-vis* exploitation of his existing potential, resource base and human capital.

The situation described above presents only a brief sketch of some of the possible stages through which the small farmer has to pass before completing an economic run of an enterprise or investment. The various types of projects that are suggested in rain-fed regions very often ignore the micro level dimension of internal resource management by the small farmer. This leads to inappropriate evaluation of the success or failure of the project as well as inadequate monitoring of the possible projects outputs.

The fungibility of credit so described above points to the limitations, the existing project management and supervised agricultural programmes face in their endeavours to help the small farmer. At present we do not have sufficient data to say as to which sub-set or combination of sub-sets include the greatest proportion of small farmers in the arid regions. Perhaps this proportion would differ from situation to situation. However, we believe that an in-depth analysis of these paths would certainly help

in unravelling the dynamics of decision making at a small farm level in the specific social context of farmers in rain-fed regions.

The planned interventions for meeting the specific demands of farmers operating in different sub-set situations described will have to be differently designed. The philosophical understanding of consumption and production activities of marginal farmers as inseparable from each other will have to be clearly accepted. The 'basic needs' model which differentiates between above needs of rural poor obviously cannot make much headway in the present level of market interaction together with complexity of decision making options of small farmer and labour. The concept of projects as vehicles for injecting resources for rural development may thus have to undergo some definitional change. The public policies also will have obvious repercussion in different sub-sets of the paradigm at different stages. The institutional arrangements and the built-in flexibility *vis-a-vis* the access differential operating in rural regions will also need elaboration.

This framework presenting a rather different view of 'farmers rationality', offers interesting openings for exploring the innovative project designs that synchronise their internal process of delivery with the cash flow and internal resource management of small farmers.

Projects suiting the sub-set A will have to merely concern themselves with the internal efficiency of the delivery system of credit because as per the paradigm the farmer is able to get required input and advice (probably because of efficient markets) to generate enough surplus to pay back the credit. However, in sub-set B the projects will have to take into account the consumption needs of the farmer as well as additional credit need for any deficit remaining after unavoidable consumption. The schedule of repayment will also have to be flexible. In case of enterprise failure, the project will have to provide for the nursing finance as an on inherent constituent of the project design so as to sustain farmer's economy. The design will have to be different in high risk prone enterprises or regions where flexibility in repayment is essential to keep the farmer solvent. Likewise the project design for sub-set D and C will not only have to be differently oriented but also the project package will have different constituents.

In Fig. 2 & 3 the dynamics of credit have been presented through 'credit crayons' of two farmers, Ram Avatar Singh and Gharsi. In case of Ram Avatar Singh, we observe that credit from eight different sources not only interacts strikingly but also widens the budget deficit apparently in an irrevocable fashion. The fungibility of credit makes the input tie ups meaningless when the distinction of source specificity is constrained by the peculiar internal resource management designed (or manoeuvred) by the farmer. To pay back Mini Bank dues, he borrows from Begraj whom he pays back after much delay. And this repayment doesn't get generated from his small plot of land alone. There is a definite (though it is difficult to quantify) contribution of other credit sources towards this. Likewise,

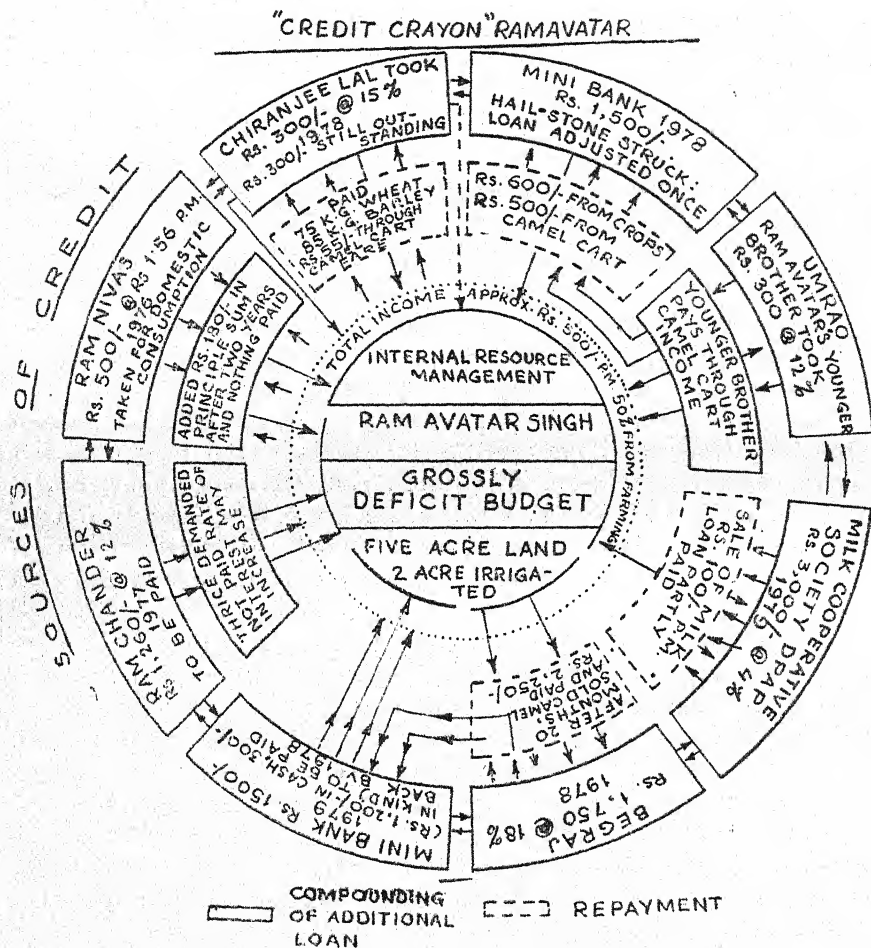


FIG. 2

the income of his younger brother who further raises a loan from a friend goes largely to liquidate the liability of Mini Bank wherefrom he borrows again. Compounding credit due to default can further be seen in case of loans from Ram Nivas, and Ram Chandra. This complicates all the more farmer's calculation for resource utilization (Ref. Fig. 2).

Despite substantial payment of dues of Chiranji Lal in cash and kind the principal amount remains intact. Further, the payment of Mini Bank due in 1978 does not take place from the income from crop alone. Income from camel cart is also used by the farmer to liquidate it.

Interchangeability of credit source, use and recycling mechanism make the task of agricultural project designing very complicated. In case of Gharsi, credit network depicts the fact that entire cash component of the

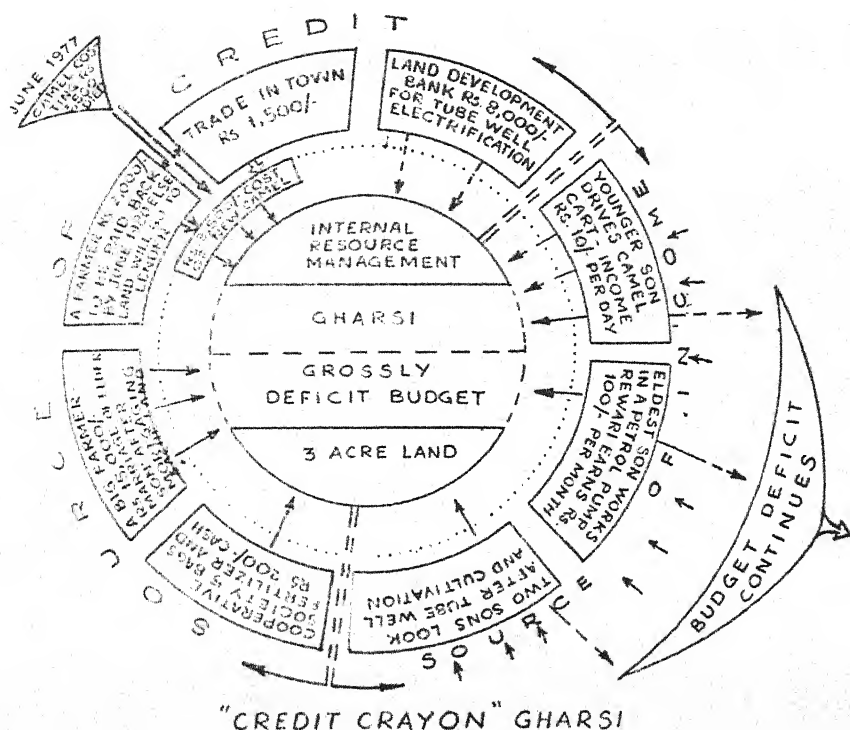


FIG. 3

institutional loan is consumed for meeting domestic needs, while kind component has been only apparently used. However, it may not be inferred from this that credit in kind always gets used (in fact it seldom does). Here the typical resource position of Gharsi has necessitated this adjustment on his part (Ref. Fig. 3).

A detailed look as to how the death of a camel triggers a chain of credit adjustments, may throw light on the credit constraints of a small farmer. Social customs have their own role in constraining the frame of adjustments as expressed through loan for marriage of Gharsi's son.

The pledging of loan and accompanying threat of foreclosure automatically predetermines Gharsi's priorities of investment as well as his risk taking capacity.

The 'credit crayons' (graphic details of credit receipt and repayment already made and/or potentially possible though presentation of internal resource management of small farmer, expressing not only credit constraints but also a total frame in which farmers' priorities are determined) are tools having definite bearing on the project design.

The risk taking capacity, not only for innovation but also for taking credit (and in investing it in ventures offering enough surplus to maintain

farmer's homeostatic balance) and utilising it, is reflected as function of hosts of constraints in which drought economy puts a small farmer.

Thus, the interventions through the Project for ameliorating the condition of Gharsi or Ram Avatar Singh can't be conceived in isolation of their real credit contexts. And these contexts are modified, at times defined, by technological innovation, their spread and input supply support system besides farmers own resource base. The ecological dimension of regional endowment in relation to each individual, breeds in him, a specific developmental potential. To exploit this, unique efforts are required at each farmer's level.

Traditional project design strategies don't provide for any such micro level relatedness between the project objectives and individual resource context.

Looking at the vast multitudes of small farmers who have to be helped, the complexity of task can be well anticipated. This paradigm clearly brings out that manipulations of the internal variables of project components would not, in any way, increase the correspondence between project performance process and internal dynamics of small farmers resource constraints.

Neither, reliance on efforts for improving the efficiency of market structures alone, nor pursuits of greater effectivity of existing institutional network in social context, constitute the complete realm of desired strategy.

The explorations towards administrative arrangements in the given planning framework, would suffer from several major limitations. They would imply pursuits of acceptability/desirability/feasibility/optimality and contextuality of various alternatives in segregated market framework. Flexibility, in the process would often be a casualty in the name of better small farmer care. Thus discussion on the project design and policy package can take place dispassionately only when some of the assumptions held dear are questioned:

- That of difference between consumption and production needs of small and marginal farmers whose major resource is labour.
- The manipulation of internal variables like interest rate, etc., only when repayment schedule and composite (port folio) financing may be better instruments for accommodating small farmer resource constraints.
- policies for collective handling of needs of big and small farmers through single institutional channel.
- No discrimination between defaulters of different hues. Similar categorisation in this context is one single most important absurdity of institutional efforts to reach small farmer.
- Conventional banking through somewhat unconventional institutions

distorts all the more credit climate.

- Similar policy frame for catering to differently endowed regions and classes of farmers for different credit purposes projects, etc.

The implications for project design have direct bearing on the indices of monitoring the project performance *vis-a-vis* target group. Obviously the appraisal of project, both economic and social, will require basically different methodology than adopted hitherto. It is believed that typologies so described can be explored further to provide deeper insights for developing theory of rural development.

Needless to mention that the paths described here are only indicative and not exhaustive, for the regional dimension of diversity and disparity will have to be appropriately documented to make it comprehensive. However, the focus on small farmer's internal resource management can provide effective alternative to functional, sectoral and regional approaches to project design. The earlier approaches applied in developed societies have not proved to be replicable in developing societies. □

Application of Performance Budgeting to Social Welfare Programmes

K.L. Handa

PLANNING involves the appraisal of current conditions, and identifications of problems and needs of the society. Based on societal values, it requires decisions on inter-sectoral priorities for investment to achieve a desired socio-economic development of the country. The objectives of developing a particular sector, say, industry, transport, power, agriculture, education and social welfare need then to be concretised to facilitate formulation of programmes for their achievement. A programme may comprise of a single project or a group of projects designed to achieve the objectives of the programme.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMMES

The priority attached by the planners to social welfare gets translated into definite programmes. For the achievement of the desired goals funds have to be allocated to these programmes. It is important that a sound rationale is adopted for the selection of social welfare programmes so that the money is utilised properly. The process for appraisal of programmes depends upon the rationality involved in the application of social cost-benefit analysis technique applied for the selection of the best programme out of the few available alternatives. The programmes are sometimes selected by mature political considerations or value judgements. Whatever may be the process for the selection of the programmes, there are no two opinions that the programme selected should be implemented with maximum efficiency and economy.

PERFORMANCE BUDGETING

Performance budgeting is a technique for an efficient and economic

implementation of programmes and projects. It is a process for relating systematically the spending of funds to the accomplishment of planned objectives. According to the concept of performance budgeting, the annual budget is in essence, a work plan specifying the programme targets to be achieved by the agency concerned during the financial year.

A performance budget is considered as a tool of management, which lays emphasis on accomplishments rather than on means of accomplishments. It seeks to bring out what a department or agency proposes to do, how much of it, at what cost, and with what results. In a performance budget, emphasis is laid on the purpose of the proposed expenditure instead of highlighting objects of expenditure which is the case in a line-item or traditional budget. Whereas objectwise classification in a traditional budget lays emphasis on the inputs on which money is proposed to be spent thereby indicating the nature of expenditure, programme/activity classification in a performance budget highlights the purpose of the budgeted expenditure to achieve specified objectives. A performance budget seeks to correlate physical and financial aspects of each programme and activity by establishing relationship between outputs and the related inputs.

APPLICATION TO SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMMES

In the case of a department or an agency for social welfare, its performance budget would include programmes, activities, projects, and schemes designed to achieve the specific objectives of the department/agency. It would also highlight the targets set for the achievement during the ensuing budget year and also the actual accomplishments in the previous year as compared to the targets fixed for that year. Programme/activity classification evolved for a performance budget should fully explain and be in line with the objectives sought to be achieved by the expenditure of budgeted funds. The classification structure in performance budget of a social welfare department may look like the following:¹ (a) Welfare of Handicapped; (b) Women's Welfare, (c) Family and Child Welfare, (d) Social Defence, and (e) Nutrition and Child Development.

The rationale of such a classification is that allocation of funds for each programme may be related to the results expected from the expenditure of resources on that programme.* Not only that, each programme should be sub-divided into its distinct components or sub-programme so that the scheme of performance budgeting is carried forward to relate each expenditure on a sub-programme or an activity to the corresponding

¹The programme/activity classification has been taken for the Performance Budget of the Department of Social Welfare (Government of India) for the year 1978-79.

*The classification in the traditional budget, called objectwise classification, would look like the following: (1) Salaries; (2) Travelling Allowance; (3) Office Expense; (4) Machinery and Equipment; and (5) Minor Works.

output. For instance, the programme, 'welfare of handicapped' can be sub-divided into sub-programme, like: (i) education and training, (ii) research, and (iii) scholarships or, the programme, 'social defence' can be divided into: (i) prevention of crime, (ii) juvenile delinquency, and (iii) prohibition. To quote from the author's book :

The manner in which a budget is arranged reflects to a large extent the thinking of the budget administrators. The form of budgeting shows the kind of calculations that enter into and the outcomes expected from the budget. Its classification, therefore, brings out the main purposes it is required to serve.²

Programme/activity classification in a performance budget help at various management levels of an organisation to focus attention on achievement which result from the expenditure provided for in the budget.

THE RELEVANCE OF NORMS

The display of transactions in terms of programmes, activities, projects, and schemes seeks to establish a meaningful relationship between inputs and outputs. The correlation between the expenditure on a programme and the corresponding output of the programme needs to be established on the basis of scientific norms. The use of proper norms and standards facilitates programme management and enables measurement of physical achievements to the costs incurred.

The output of a programme/activity in terms of physical targets has to be related to the inputs required which are translated into financial terms and shown as the budget provision asked for the implementation of the programme/activity. It is here that the use of proper norms becomes relevant for scientifically working out the requirements of various inputs, like, manpower, material, machinery, equipment, etc., to implement a programme. In a scheme of performance budgeting, therefore, physical targets set for accomplishment in respect of each programme enable working out of corresponding financial estimates for incorporation in the budget by using properly evolved norms and yardsticks.

The working of the system of performance budgeting depends on the techniques evolved for the measurement of output in relation to inputs. The system envisages selection and development of suitable work measurement units, norms, yardsticks, standards, and other performance indicators for measuring physical quantum of work to be done or services to be rendered. These measurement norms are essential in deciding as to what is the proper relationship between the resources to be utilised and the results

²K.L. Handa, *Programme and Performance Budgeting*, Uppal, New Delhi, 1979, p. 13.

proposed to be accomplished. These are also necessary to provide detailed justifications for the budget provisions asked for, and to furnish a scientific basis for the quantum of work proposed to be undertaken for the completion of an activity. Appropriate norms and standards supported by adequate data reduce subjective element and increase objectivity in the framing and scrutiny of budget estimates.

The crux of scheme of performance budgeting is to ensure that activities are performed with maximum efficiency and economy. A proper assessment of the efficiency of operations in the execution of activities, therefore, becomes important. Efficiency of an operation may be measured in different ways. It may be assessed by comparing the results of an activity with those previously obtained from similar operations of the same organisations. In such a case, however, care has to be taken to ensure that inefficiency was not built into the earlier operations. Another approach to determine efficiency of operation of an organisation could be by comparing it with similar operations of other like organisations. In this case also, it has to be made sure that the operations of the other organisations are being efficiently performed to properly serve as a standard for comparing one's own performance. A third and more scientific approach for measuring performance is by evaluating it in comparison with pre-determined norms and standards. These norms and standards evolved on the basis of objective considerations can provide good yardsticks for the assessment of efficiency of operations. Different types of norms and standards have been suggested for use depending upon the nature of activity to which these are to be applied, and their suitability to a particular situation.

THE CASE OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMMES

There can be a variety of norms applicable to the case of social welfare programmes. A simple approach to the problem is to develop workload factors. For example, in the case of a programme meant to promote family welfare planning, the work load units, in numerical terms, could be: (i) cinemas, dramas; (ii) conferences; (iii) group meetings; (iv) publication of literature; (v) press advertisements; (vi) radio programmes; and (vii) exhibitions. A number of each of these items of work which a functionary or a team of employees can complete in a specified period of time could be determined by using the available scientific techniques, like, work study or time and motion study. The norms, thus, evolved could be employed for estimating the requirement of manpower needed for accomplishing the physical quantum of the activity proposed for the budget year.

The norms could be evolved in the same way for determining the requirements of other inputs, such as raw material, machinery, and equipment needed for accomplishing the same quantum of the activity during

the budget year. The requirements of various inputs thus determined can then be translated into financial terms, which would form the basis for preparing budget estimates for the activity concerned. Such a correlation established in the performance budget between the financial and physical aspects of an activity could be used as a guiding frame for evaluating the performance of the activity. If actual achievement of the activity does not compare favourably with the budget plan for the same, this would be an indication of inefficient performance inviting attention of the concerned management level to take necessary corrective action.

Among other norms relevant for application to social welfare programmes, are performance ratios. These refer to input-output relationships established at responsibility levels where physical output reflects the accomplishment of work or tasks. A performance ratio may be expressed in terms of unit cost by relating a unit of physical output of an activity to the costs of all the resources used in its production. The example of unit cost could be: cost of training a handicapped child for a particular vocation. Work measurement ratio is another norm available, which is arrived at by relating the volume of work to the staff time utilised in terms of man-hours, man-days, etc.

A complete understanding of a nature of work is necessary before proper norms or standards of performance can be set. These standards should be related to the local conditions and not imposed in a manner that they become impractical. It is important that the measures of work advised are realistic and acceptable to the various participants of the activities. These must be acceptable to the operating officials whose work is to be evaluated in terms of these norms. They must also be acceptable to the higher management who would be evaluating the performance of the implementing authorities. Norms or measures of work should also be acceptable to the authority responsible for scrutinising and approving budget estimates framed on the basis of these norms.

For the application of work norms, it is necessary that the accomplishments of programmes and activities are expressed in terms of countable work units. It is important to recognise that for scientifically measuring the performance of a programme/activity, the application of norms and standards has to be related to quantifiable physical output. Also, the end products comprising the output must be of a homogeneous character to admit application of the same measurement norm. Therefore, for the application of work norms, it is necessary to group homogeneous units of output into one category and to determine as many categories and the related performance standards as there are different types of end-products or outputs. It may be mentioned that quantitative measurement of output of an activity does not by itself ensure quality of the end-product. Other methods are needed to assess qualitative aspects of an activity.

THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT

Whereas for operating a scheme of performance budgeting it is necessary that the outputs of programmes/activities should be quantifiable, it becomes a moot question to identify the relevant output to be measured. For instance, the objectives of social welfare programmes in the area of social defence can be classified as corrective, preventive, and rehabilitative. These objectives can be achieved by designing suitable programmes in subjects like, juvenile vagrancy, prevention of delinquency and crime, probation, beggary, social and moral hygiene, drug addiction, suppression of immoral traffic, etc.

One way to measure the output of expenditure can be by resorting to the simple approach of listing the quantitative achievements, such as, organising so many training courses benefiting a certain number of participants from various categories of correctional personnel. Also, it could be in terms of so many research projects sanctioned for study of the problems of drug addiction, or by way of the number of reports received of such studies. Sometimes, output of a programme is indicated as the number of conferences and seminars arranged or the number of pamphlets, booklets, journals and other publications brought out. It is easy to relate expenditure on these programmes to the resulting output measured in numerical terms of the tasks accomplished. But, if the expenditure is sought to be related to the end-objectives of a programme, like, prevention of delinquency and crime, reduction in the incidence of drug addiction or suppression of immoral traffic, the search for a suitable performance indicator becomes a difficult task.

The development of performance indicators is very important although its development is difficult. It does not pose much of a problem in case of economic activities where output can be measured in quantifiable physical units. Performance oriented economic indicators can be developed with greater facility for programmes in various sectors of the national economy. But, in most cases of programmes/activities in the area of social welfare, it is only surrogate measures which can be used and output measured in terms of social indicators instead of economic indicators.

However, the tendency so far has been to develop indicators of performance for which data are readily available and arrangements exist for the collection of statistics. The performance evaluation is conducted to accord with the available statistics rather than making efforts for the creation of data to suit the needs of measuring the achievement of the end-objectives of a programme. Quite often expenditure is sought to be related to that output for which data are available rather than to the output which is really the result desired from the expenditure. As Prest and Turvey have remarked:

Before exploring the conceptual problems, it should be noted that some of the differences between authors in the way they estimate benefits stem from differences in the availability of statistics rather than from differences in what the authors would like to measure if they could.³

There are also situations where the outputs of specific activities get mixed up with those caused by various other factors. The improvements in health, in addition to being caused by specific measures of medical care and health delivery services, may be the results of improved environment, better education, higher incomes, and enlarged economic opportunities in the community. It is difficult to disentangle the effects of a specific health programme from the effects of many other factors influencing the health of people. The inter-relationships among the effects of programmes in different functional areas make it very difficult to assess the contribution of a specific programme towards achieving its end-objectives. For instance, health improvement programmes may have various objectives, such as elimination of specific diseases, reduction of infant mortality, raising average reading scores of poor children, improving human resources, improving the earning capacity of individuals and families, and institutional and community development. The programmes selected for implementation to achieve these various objectives may interact on each other so intimately that it would become difficult to delineate the output resulting from each programme for relating it to the corresponding expenditure.

The quantification of indicators of performance is the key stone for building a system of performance evaluation to assess the efficiency of programme implementation. Whereas, acceptable social indicators are essential to be evolved for measuring the accomplishment of end-objectives of a social welfare programme, it is also necessary to find ways of identifying the achieved results as could be attributed to specific costs or activities.

Proper social indicators would need to be developed to suit the needs of each programme. They would need to be evolved for the evaluation of social welfare programmes, like correction, rehabilitation and welfare of prisoners. They would also be required to judge the results of programmes like prison reform, eradication of alcoholism, prevention of suicides and control of gambling.

The social indicators available so far whether representative, direct, indirect or proxy, are in an infant stage of development, and not adequate to serve the various purposes. It hardly needs to be emphasised that much efforts and hard work is needed for developing measureable social indicators relevant to social welfare programmes. However, before it is attempted to evolve social indicators of specific programmes, it is essential to

³A.R. Rest and R.J. Turvey, "Cost Benefit Analysis: A Survey". *Economic Journal*, December 1965, p. 721.

know as to what are the socially accepted objectives to be achieved by a programme. This presupposes the existence of a general model of society embodying agreed ideologies and commonly accepted philosophy.

It is desirable that evaluation of social welfare programmes should not be dictated by the type of statistics available, rather, efforts should be made to create the necessary data for the specific purpose of developing social indicators to suit the nature of social objectives which is to be measured. It may, however, be mentioned that the development and use of social indicators do not exclude the use of other performance indicators for management control purposes. In fact, social indicators supplemented by other performance indicators, serve the purposes of performance evaluation in a much better manner.

MONITORING AND REVIEW OF PERFORMANCE

A performance budget is a work plan which expresses targets for achievement in respect of various responsibility centres, based on accepted norms and standards. Measurement of actual performance both in physical and financial terms in relation to the budgeted plan is an extremely important aspect of a performance budget. This, however, needs to be done in a manner as would help decision-making and control at the various levels of management. In this context, designing a meaningful information and reporting system assumes vital importance.

The type of information that needs to be generated for decision-making and control purposes depends on the nature of the organisation concerned and the need for the same at appropriate levels. Each level of management in an organisation has its own requirements of information for discharging its functions to achieve the tasks assigned to it. For developing an effective reporting system, it is essential that information needs of the various levels of management are identified.

A regular stream of information regarding financial and physical aspects of a programme or activity should flow to each responsibility level for decision-making and control purposes. Such a flow of information to different levels is also necessary for performance evaluation. The information needed for performance measurement has to flow from two channels. Physical accomplishments to be monitored through one type of reporting channel and accounting information to flow through another channel. When these two sets of information are put together in terms of various responsibility centres for the period under consideration, a picture of actual performance in terms of physical accomplishment and the related cost would emerge. The actual performance as monitored from the information system can then be compared with the budgeted plan.

The conceptual framework for monitoring and review of performance as outlined above is very much applicable to an organisation engaged in the

implementation of social welfare programmes. It is, however, important that the classification of accounts adopted by this organisation is structured in line with its budget classification so that the accounting system enables timely availability of accounts information for a systematic and continuous review of the progress of expenditure as related to the budgeted funds and the planned tasks. In this context, importance needs to be attached to devising right format of reports and determining the periodicity for the submission of these reports to the concerned management levels.

A performance budget is required to be divided into convenient periods depending upon the nature of the organisation and the programmes it is to implement. For each of these periods (bi-monthly, quarterly, four-monthly, etc.) a budget plan for the tasks or targets to be achieved should be available. The monitoring of expenditure and the related physical accomplishment needs to be done in terms of these periods and compared with the budget plan for the same period. The purpose is to enable the management to make 'on course corrections' in the event of deviations occurring between actual accomplishments and the budget plan. A proper system of reporting and review is an essential component of a scheme of performance budgeting, and serves a highly useful management purpose.

CONCLUSION

The crux of a scheme of performance budgeting is the use of scientifically determined norms and standards for establishing a proper correlation between financial and physical aspects of programmes. The concept of performance budgeting can be usefully applied to social welfare programmes by employing quantified social indicators evolved to suit the needs of specific programmes. Social indicators enable performance evaluation in terms of achievement of the socially acceptable end-objectives of a programme. Norms and standards as indicators of performance help in building a management information system for monitoring and review of performance of programmes. These various components of a scheme of performance budgeting in their application to social welfare programmes are calculated to achieve maximum efficiency and economy in the implementation of programmes. □

Operations Research and Social Administration

Kanti Swarup

ALL young people must learn some thing about the quantitative techniques because these techniques are helpful and can be applied to every walk of life. Knowledge about quantitative techniques must be transmitted so that larger number of people can be benefited by it. In this paper only one aspect of the quantitative techniques, *i.e.*, the operations research has been dealt with. Application of operations research to social welfare programmes may help in better implementation of the programmes and also in producing better results from them.

Operations Research is an analytical procedure used for decision making. There are three key aspects which need attention: (a) Operations research is application oriented, (b) Operations research generally involves the use of analytical procedures which are used to construct a mathematical or logical model of the problem under analysis, and (c) Use of operations research models is generally oriented to decision making situations. In any scientific decision making generally four stages are envisaged: (i) Data analysis, (ii) Information analysis, (iii) Problem analysis, and (iv) Decision analysis.

Operations research can be called the philosophy of problem solving. Philosophical approach and the use of analytical tools are integral parts of the operations research concept. When attempts are made to integrate operations research ideas into social programmes we face problems regarding communication. Social programmes are generally implemented by persons who do not have strong analytical background. The operations research professionals who have a strong analytical background prove less effective at incorporating qualitative factors into their decision making models because problems are brought forward by these who are analytical in their approach. In the applications of operations research for social programmes, differences should be maintained among the three levels of decisions. The lower level decisions involving operational problems such as

schedule for a given programme, are called operational decisions and involve singular objectives which are well defined and involve no conflicts. The second type of decisions required by the decision makers involve multiple objectives which are often conflicting. The overall policy guiding the decision is fairly well established but the conflicting objectives present the problem of deciding upon the alternatives to be implemented. Such kind of decisions are referred to as strategic decisions. The third type of decisions involve not only conflicts in objectives but also conflicts in the general policies of the programme. Example may include areas such as environmental, health, housing, and welfare programmes. These decisions of general nature are referred as policy decisions.

In a well structured programme the use of operations research is made through six steps.

Identifying the Problem

This step requires the problem to be identified. This should clearly indicate objectives, functions, controllable decision variables, uncontrollable parameters, restrictions on the decision variables and the relationship of variables with the objectives, functions as well as with constraints system.

Constructing the Model

This step is concerned with the choice of proper data inputs and the design of the appropriate information output. The model can be expressed as:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{subject to } Z &= F(x_1, x_2, x_3, \dots, x_m, y_1, \dots, y_n) \\ \phi_i(x_i, y_k) &\leq b_i, i=1, \dots, h. \\ x_1, x_2, \dots, x_m &\text{ are controllable decision variables} \\ (y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n) &\text{ are uncontrollable parameters} \end{aligned}$$

Deriving the Solution

This phase deals with calculations for deriving the solution to the model. A solution of the model generally means those values of the decision variables that optimise objective functions and give permissible levels of performance for secondary objectives.

Testing the solution

This involves achieving the validity of the model. A model may be said to be valid if it can give a reliable prediction of the system performance.

Putting Control Over the Solution

It establishes control over the solution by proper feedback of the information on variables which deviated significantly.

Implementation

The final phase deals with the implementation of the result of the model. This would basically involve a careful explanation of the solution to be adopted and its relationship with the operating realities. This also involves expressing the decision into simple rules when followed by the people concerned with the actual implementation of the programmes then it should imply that programme has been carried out as desired. This step is the most difficult as it has to be cultural bound.

The subject of social welfare has been receiving attention from the state more intensively under the five year plans since 1950. Earnestness of the government to promote social service policies and programmes has been vindicated by the creation of certain organisations. In addition, the constitutional provisions relating to the promotion of the welfare of the scheduled castes, backward classes and the scheduled tribes have also accelerated the creation of special institutions. During the last 30 years there has been organisational expansion in the government and non-government sector for the promotion of social welfare. This is a healthy development. However, the question remains, can we say that welfare administration has become viable and adequate for realising the objectives of social welfare as stated in our successive five year plans? The answer to this question varies from person to person depending upon their value system.

One can easily say that we are still far from integrating welfare with development. Our plans also indicate that while in absolute terms there has been an increase in allocation in monetary terms the percentage proportion of the allocation for social services to the total size of the plan has been declining. This is unfortunate but it reflects the commitment of our planners to social services. Social services have suffered with regard to lack of training facilities for the personnel required. Not much attention has been paid to employment of professional personnel for administering the programmes and most of the time the people at the top have very little or no commitment in social welfare because of lack of professional knowledge, management skill and commitment. Social welfare programmes thus become either a dumping ground for the unwanted or a jumping ground for the unaccommodated. In the social welfare administration programmes most often the professionalism and commitment whatsoever it was, has been subordinated to bureaucratism which never allows professionalism and committed people to play its role under the prevailing conditions of administration of social welfare programmes. Social welfare administration also suffers from power politics, lack of resources, misuse of resources and lack of will to serve the weaker sections of the people.

The management techniques can definitely help the administration in proper utilisation of resources by taking scientific decision at operating

level. Management techniques can also help the administrators in implementing the decisions for welfare taking into account the cultural aspects of the people. One of the major functions of operations research is to help the decision maker in identifying the area and suggest certain alternatives in the given area, then select the best alternative. The role of operations research in the welfare administration programmes can be to help the administration to improve decisions keeping in view the limited resources, and environment, economic and political of the people for which these programmes are meant. Some of the operations research techniques which can be used with success in social welfare administration are : (i) linear programming, (ii) queueing theory, (iii) selective approach of inventory (iv) PERT/CPM, (v) Simulation, (vi) Management by Objectives and (vii) Game Theory.

Some of the social welfare programmes which may be considered for the use of the operations research are as follows : (i) Anti Poverty Focus Programme; (ii) antyodya programme; (iii) food for work; (iv) employment guarantee scheme; (v) minimum wage—implementation; (vi) identifying bonded labour; (vii) rehabilitation of free bonded labour; (viii) protection of weaker sections against atrocities; (ix) allocation of house sites as well as houses for weaker sections; (x) family planning; (xi) health programmes; (xii) nutrition programmes; (xiii) aid to the handicapped; (xiv) job reservation for weaker sections; (xv) distribution of surplus land; and (xvi) marginal farmers' development agencies, etc.

In considering the implementation of such programmes the attitudes of the social administrators play a vital role. Institutions are essential, programmes and processes just play desirable role. For some of the above mentioned programmes areas in which application of operations research is possible are dealt with are in brief.

Antyodya Programme

After identifying the target of population in relation to the given objective of the programme one can classify the target population into different categories namely, A, B, C, according to their needs to be met and, social and economic background of the people. For achieving the classification we can use selective approach of inventory control in operations research we can allocate given scarce resources optimally for different categories with a given objective. Linear programming technique will help in achieving optimum use of the given scarce resources. PERT/CPM technique can successfully be used in the implementation of time bound and cost bound programmes to fulfil the social objectives.

Medical Facilities in Health Programmes

Due to lack of resources there is always shortage of medical facilities

in terms of hospitals and professionals. Keeping in view the inadequate facilities one can find means for managing the given facilities in such a way that waiting time is minimised. To achieve this objective queueing theory technique of operations research can be of great help. The two parameters λ , μ are of tremendous help in better utilization of facilities, reducing the queue length and economic loss to the people, arising out of delay inherent in the system.

$P = \frac{\lambda}{\mu}$ is good indicator of performance of the system

(λ = Mean arrival rate

μ = Mean service rate).

Simulation is another technique which can improve the existing situation by making use of random variables and statistical probability theory. A good mix of professionals, mix of medicines and medical facilities from logistic angle can be planned by use of Linear Programming technique. It can ensure better utilisation of the given scarce resources. Desired stock of generally required medicines can be determined to avoid unnecessary blockade of scarce resources by using inventory control and simulation approach. The uncertainty in the non-availability of the medicines or variability in everyday requirement of the medicines can be tackled by having a safety stock system at the minimum investment.

Family Planning

The two important parameters concerning weaker sections of the society in the population problem are fertility rate and mortality rate. In our family planning, the main emphasis remained on the reduction of fertility rate. Note much attention was paid on the control of mortality rate of the population. Mortality rate remained high in the poorer sections of the society which is traditionally believer of having more children because of so many reasons: social, economic and political. This reduces the importance of family planning for such a section of the society. Moreover there are people who believe that man is capable of adjusting his number according to his needs and man can produce more than his requirement.

Operations Research can be a very good tool in implementing the family planning programmes. It can help in selecting locations, number and size of family planning centres. Simulation technique of OR can easily be used for better accomplishment. Linear programming can help in planning the mix of resources in terms of administrative personnel, equipments, professionals, etc., to provide optimum performance. OR can provide tools to bring optimum awareness among the people about family

planning approaches by proper media, mix planning and for measuring the outcome. PERT/CPM can be effectively used for better planning, scheduling and controlling of family planning programmes.

Protection of Weaker Sections Against Atrocities

In the western culture people believe that to tax the community for the advantage of a class is not protection, it is plunder. They also believe that a society has character only when it is free.

We must move away from borrowed ideas, artificial limitations and misplaced perception. For scientific decision we must keep our cultural set-up in view where the problem of citizens' grievances is not so much wrong decisions as administrative delays and official unresponsibleness. We believe that the government must be both competent and compassionate at the same time. "Sympathy is a source of strength."

The greater need for a proper and effective implementation of a programme aimed at protecting the weaker sections is, that the administrators responsible for the implementation should be aware of the social and economic problems and fully conversant with the cultural background of the weaker sections. This would enable them to appreciate the various problems and see them in proper perspective and enable them to participate in the desired manner while implementing the programmes. It is necessary that the weaker sections are involved in the implementation process. Their participation in the implementation and enforcement team/machinery, therefore, is necessary. In some cases it may be necessary to provide them an organisation of their own people for fighting out the cause of injustice.

OR can help analysing the problem so as to give guidelines for providing help and relief centres at different places in the critical regions. It can also help in identifying the inbuilt weaknesses in the system which hamper the weaker sections' growth in the society. Game theory approach can help them in getting united against social and economic injustice.

In any social welfare programme the implementation is the corner stone of decision making. Implementation is very much culture bound. As every man thinks himself/herself capable of making a rational choice in the region of his rationality, the attitude of man towards welfare emerging from social and cultural environment would, therefore, play an important role as to what one's needs are. Human needs are many and human beings face many economic problems. There are basically two approaches to bridge the gap between desires and resources. The first approach which more or less has the accepted philosophy of western culture is to try to increase the resources. This approach takes the form of making more money so that a man can satisfy most of his desires. This is what we may describe 'money talks' for the fulfilment of the human desires. The second approach which is an accepted practice in eastern culture is to reduce the needs to the bare minimum. In such a culture by exercising

strong self-discipline, self-control and even self-denial one reduces its desires. This philosophy introduces some accent into their daily life which gives them inner happiness. In such a culture a simple way of life is what is advocated. Decision analysis for any welfare programme, therefore, has to be seen through cultural setting of the society. We have to recognise our own culture to derive benefit from welfare schemes. □

Socio-Economic Evaluation of Rural Electrification Projects: A Framework

K.L. Chawla

THE Rural Electrification Corporation owes its existence to the recommendations made by the All India Rural Credit Review Committee, headed by Mr. B. Venkatappiah. The Committee underlined the importance of rural electrification "not only generally but in the specific context of increased agricultural production". It felt "while loans are advanced for wells and electric pumpsets, the failure to provide power holds up the energisations of the wells and the adoption of improved agricultural practices or remunerative cropping pattern It is clear that planned rural electrification is a very necessary adjunct to planned irrigation. It is also clear that programmes of rural electrification should be complementary to schemes for the construction of wells and installation of pumps Indeed the fruitful utilisation and prompt repayment of institutional credit provided for these purposes depends upon the simultaneous extension of the supply of electricity to the relevant areas".

The main objective of the Rural Electrification Corporation (REC) which came into existence in July 1969, was to finance rural electrification schemes in the country. The Corporation was directed to apply some criteria of economic viability and also to give special consideration to the requirements of relatively backward areas in respect of terms and conditions for loans for such areas. During its relatively short life of ten years, the Corporation has already emerged as a major developmental financing institution in the areas of rural electrification. The total sanctions during this period (upto 1978-79) amounted to Rs. 1,031 crores and disbursements Rs. 673 crores. In physical terms, projects envisaging electrification of 1,39,000 additional villages, intensive electrification in 43,000 already electrified villages and energisation of 11,52,000 agricultural pump sets were approved by the Corporation. Under these projects, electrification

of 59,000 villages and energisation of 4,13,000 agricultural pumpsets was actually completed. These figures have been quoted to give an idea, both in financial and physical terms, of the massive investment effort being made by the REC.¹

EXISTING VIABILITY NORMS

The All India Rural Credit Review Committee had recommended that rural electrification programme should not involve the State Electricity Boards in further losses which would add to those with which they were already saddled. This meant that each scheme of rural electrification undertaken by the SEBs should be financially remunerative according to the norms prescribed by the Venkataraman Committee which had examined the financial position of the SEBs in 1964, and had recommended a return of 11 per cent. The Government of India issued directives to REC for ensuring economic and financial soundness of each scheme albeit after providing for some relaxation in the case of backward areas.

In pursuance of the objectives and the policy directives by the government, the Corporation has classified the project into various categories, the important ones being Ordinary Advanced Areas (OA), Ordinary Backward Areas (OB), Special Underdeveloped Areas (SU) and Minimum Needs Programme (MNP). The loans are sanctioned for a period ranging between 20-30 years, with a moratorium of 5 years, at interest rates between 6 per cent and 9.25 per cent which varies with the slab of years after the completion of the projects belonging to various categories. For example, projects falling in the OA category are expected to yield a financial return of 2 per cent in the 5th year or break-even in the 7th year and earn 3.5 per cent in the 15th year. Such projects should fetch a gross return of 20 per cent. Net return is worked out after allowing for the rate of interest relevant at the year of the project life. Gross return expected in the case of OB projects is 15 per cent and net return for such projects should be 3.5 per cent in the 5th year or break-even in the tenth year and 3.5 per cent in the twentieth year.²

NEED FOR A FRESH LOOK

Unlike most rural development projects, electrification is quite capital-intensive. Even when the demand for energy for productive uses in energising pumpsets for irrigation and small industries is good and the project area not backward, the financial return on the project may be poor. This is because the initial investment in constructing the networks and the

¹Rural Electrification Corporation, *10th Annual Report, 1978-79*, p. 7.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 52-57.

incremental costs involved in administrative and billing arrangements can be very heavy. Gestation periods are fairly long, more so when the project area is backward and demand takes a long time in coming. Tariff for the consumers is kept very low with the objective of promoting higher utilisation of electricity for productive purposes. Thus financial viability criteria can eliminate schemes which, on social criteria, would be highly desirable.

The electrification of rural areas has been recognised as a catalyst in stimulating and promoting integrated rural development. The massive investment effort made in this part of the world in such projects demands a comprehensive analysis of the viability criteria laid down for approval of the projects. The criteria laid down so far are basically financial in nature even though these do allow for soft terms in regard to loans sanctioned for backward and other deserving areas. Neither the REC nor the government are oblivious to the fact that rural electrification projects generate benefits which cannot be translated into direct receipts to any appreciable extent. A very large part of the social benefits remain outside any exercise involving appraisal of projects. Studies on cost-benefit analysis carried out to identify, quantify and evaluate the total costs and benefits of a few schemes *ex post* have mainly served the cosmetic purpose of embellishing the annual reports. The process of project appraisal in the REC has generally followed the approach of a traditional, even though condescendingly benevolent banker. Thus not only has the criteria of socio-economic evaluation not been built into the viability norms but the methodology for such comprehensive evaluation has also not been evolved in a way permitting general application. In the following pages an attempt has been made to present a framework which is generally in line with the present state of the art and also tries to keep in view the practical problems encountered in the evaluation of rural electrification projects.

No attempt is made here to explain the techniques of internal rate of return, benefit-cost ratio or net present value. These are well-known. There is, however, a lot of ambivalence about the nature of costs and benefits and the methodology for evaluation.

COSTS

Costs of rural electrification projects can be divided into two categories:

- (i) Direct costs or the costs incurred by the SEBs.
- (ii) Social costs or the costs incurred by the consumers.

Direct Costs

Capital Costs: Rural electrification projects are generally treated as distribution projects. Accordingly, the capital costs taken for the purpose

are only those incurred on the installation of distribution network. This means that the costs incurred only after 11 KV bus are included. This practice is, however, not consistent with the project approach, which implies the identification of costs and benefits on the basis of 'with and without' approach. According to this all costs which would not be incurred but for the project are to be treated as costs. Sunk costs, however, in the form of existing HT lines are not to be treated as project costs. Thus all costs incurred on the following should be treated as capital costs: (i) HT line, (ii) LT line, (iii) Distribution transformers, and (iv) Distribution lines.

The economic life of HT lines, LT lines and distribution transformers is generally treated as 30 years. Whenever the life of works or equipment, as in the case of works for the release of service connection charges, the life of equipment is 15 years, replacement cost should be added in the sixteenth year of the project life.

Cost of Energy: There is apt to be some problem regarding the rate at which energy to be supplied to the consumers is to be costed. For the purpose of project appraisal, financial cost or the average cost of energy of the SEB is irrelevant and is likely to understate the cost. The appropriate cost for this purpose is the marginal or incremental cost of supplying energy in the project area. It is sometimes held that while working out IRR in financial terms, financial rate or the average rate is applicable. This practice is also not consistent with the project approach which requires that incremental costs be identified and adopted.

In working out energy costs, line losses should be estimated and added. Line losses may be around 15-25 per cent and ignoring these losses would amount to an under-estimate of energy. In calculating marginal costs, however, care should be taken not to include those elements of capital costs which already stand included in the capital cost of project; otherwise, this would amount to double-counting.

Operation and Maintenance: These are estimated at 3 per cent of the capital outlay.

Interest: Some studies treat interest (at say, 6 per cent) as an element of cost. Internal rate of return on any project is nothing but the yield of the project. Whereas the discount rate or interest rate is the price of funds, IRR indicates the value of those funds. This price is however, to be understood not as a cost element but as a cut-off rate with which the IRR is to be compared for the purpose of determining the viability of the project. If there are any funds which are not included in the investment outlay, such as working capital, interest on such funds can be treated as a cost for the relevant year.

Any other costs such as compensation for land paid by the SEB, should be added to the direct costs.

Social Costs

Major beneficiaries of REC projects are in the following categories: agriculture, industry, lights and fans, and street lights.

Apart from the investment made by the SEB's, the consumers have to make investments to be able to utilise the energy supplied. These investments are of the following nature:

(i) *Capital Cost on Purchase/Rental of the Pumpset*: This is a major item of investment by the agriculturists. Some pumpsets may be installed by the States. Tubewells are also set up by some of the small scale industrialists. Costs of accessories, piping, etc., should be included. (ii) In a number of cases, existing diesel pumpsets are converted into electric pumpsets. Cost of conversion of such pumpsets is to be included. (iii) Cost of digging wells. In the case of new tubewells, new wells will be dug but where diesel pumpsets were being used, only the additional cost of deepening the existing wells should be adopted. (iv) Sheds for the pumpset. (v) Additional costs, if any, on widening the field channels. (vi) Costs incurred by industrialists on the purchase of electric motor including accessories, installation, etc.

Cost of energy consumed in running the pumpsets at the prevalent tariff should be adopted. (This point needs further elaboration which will be done in the section relating to benefits.)

Operation and Maintenance: Actual expenses on the basis of existing units are estimated at the rate of 3 per cent of the capital outlay are adopted.

The householders incur expenditure on wiring and other fittings, lights, fans, etc. Maintenance costs should also be included.

Service connection charges for different categories of consumers.

Cost of providing street light points including replacement.

Thus total investment would include direct costs incurred by the SEB's, and social costs represented by the consumers' contribution. Since what is being calculated is the social rate of return, total costs incurred by the society including SEBs and the consumers are relevant.

BENEFITS

In social cost-benefit analysis, it is not enough to take credit for cash receipts or revenues of the SEBs. Benefits constitute a much wider concept than receipts and these can be classified as follows: (i) Direct Benefits, (ii) Secondary Social Benefits, and (iii) Intangible Social Benefits.

Direct Benefits

Direct benefits accrue in the form of revenue realised from the sale of energy to the consumers. It would be recalled that the cost of energy appears as a cost incurred by the consumers. Sales revenue is thus nothing

but a contra-entry so that the net effect of cost of energy is neutralised by the sales on this account. This item of cost/revenue appears necessary both for conceptual clarity as well as completeness in the treatment of costs and revenues. The resource cost represented by the marginal cost of supplying energy which appears as a component of costs incurred by the SEBs remains a cost and can only be compensated for by the secondary benefits.

Another item of revenue is the service connection charges received by the SEBs from the consumers. These receipts also appear as charges paid by consumers and could have been treated as transfer payments and ignored altogether from both sides. Service connection charges are, however, not purely transfer payments. To the extent these charges/receipts represent resource costs in terms of works, material and labour, these should be reduced from revenues so that the excess of costs over residual revenue will represent the true balance in the nature of costs.

Secondary Social Benefits

In any exercise in social cost-benefit analysis it is the social benefits that turn out to be the hardest nut to crack. While some studies advocate taking credit for all the additional production in the agricultural and industrial sectors, others treat this approach as being incorrect. The latter school³ thinks of electricity as an alternative source of energy and the cost-saved by the utilisation of electric pumpsets or electric motors rather than diesel pumpsets or diesel engines is taken as the benefit of electricity. This cost-saving approach would be unexceptionable if only electric pumpsets actually displaced diesel pumpsets as they sometimes actually do. In other cases where electricity serves as an important catalyst in rural development and farmers resort to installing tubewells only because of the availability of cheap electricity, cost-saving approach does less than full justice to the contribution made by electricity towards increased agricultural production. In respect of schemes sanctioned for backward, under-developed areas and those relating to the minimum needs programme—in short, with the exception of projects in advanced areas—contribution made by electricity is reflected more appropriately by the increased production rather than by the cost saved.

It is, therefore, suggested that cost-saving approach may be adopted in respect of : (i) projects in advanced areas, and (ii) projects in other areas only to the extent electric pumpsets actually displace diesel pumpsets which may be converted into electric pumpsets.

In other cases, increase in production should be worked out on the basis of 'with and without' approach and treated as benefits of the project. Given the tariff, and technical parameters, the benefit will increase with the time for which pumpset is operated, and intensity of

³World Bank, *Rural Electrification*, Washington, D.C., Oct., 1975.

irrigation achieved.⁴

Cost-saving approach is eminently applicable in the case of small industries, domestic lights and fans and street lighting.

Intangible Social Benefits

Apart from the secondary social benefits, there are intangible social benefits which make a definite but non-quantifiable contribution to the quality of life. An early study on the subject is on "Evaluation of the Rural Electrification Programme" by the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission conducted in 1961-62. Some of the important intangible social benefits, brought out during a sample survey, are: (1) Effect on Working Time Schedule: A large number reported an increase in their working schedule from one to three hours and most stated that they could now work late at nights. (2) Effect on reading habits. A study by NCAER in Punjab indicated an increase of 1.83 hours per day. (3) Participation in community institutions increased substantially. (4) Rural Electrification makes village life more attractive. Electrification tended induce doctors, teachers and entrepreneurs to move to villages. (5) There was a near consensus that electrification had provided better security in the villages.

SOCIAL VIABILITY CRITERIA

Regardless of the duration of the loan assistance, the project life is taken as 25-30 years. Assumptions made in forecasting cash outflows and cash inflows (costs and benefits) can affect the outcome vitally.⁵ If the exercise is not to become unscientific and a half-way house, Shadow pricing must not be ignored. The methodology for shadow pricing the tradeable and non-tradeable inputs/outputs and other factors is well-known and need not be discussed here.

At present, in terms of traditional viability norms, the priority for assistance to schemes intended for relatively backward area is given by suitably lowering the interest rates, or by excluding some components of capital cost from the calculation of viability norms. Even with the best of intentions, objective norms could elude the decision-markers. The appropriate course would be to devise simple and practicable distributional weights related to the income levels of the beneficiaries in the project area. The weights should be built into the appraisal process. This should eliminate

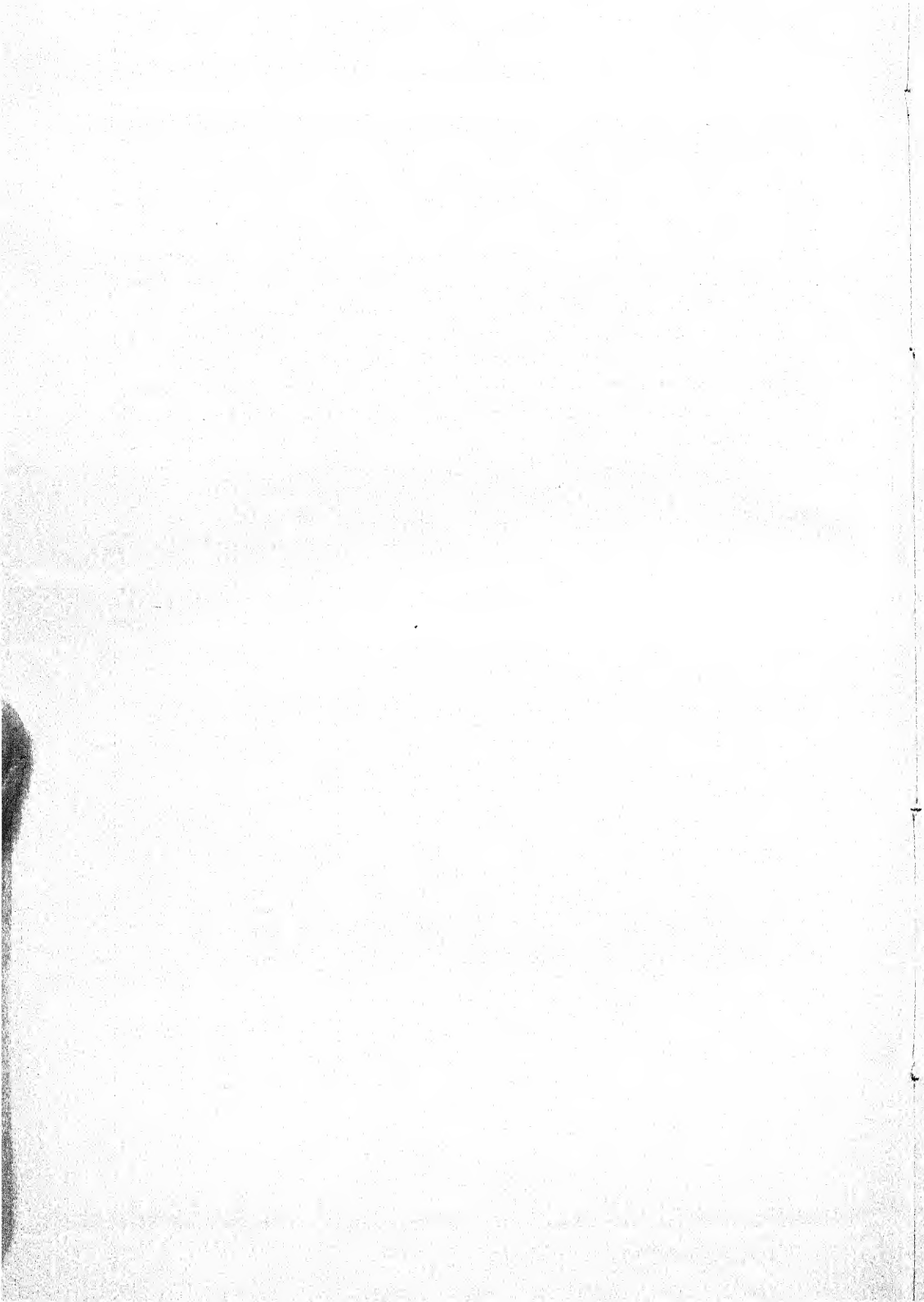
⁴United Nations Inter-Regional Seminar on Rural Electrification, V.S. Bhir, V.S. Ramavtar and V.K. Khanna, "Investment Pattern of the State Electricity Boards in respect of Rural Electrification and its Impact on their working", *Souvenir*, December, 1971, p. 53.

⁵Ralph Turvey and Dennis Anderson, *Electricity Economics*, (Ch. 7), Rural Electrification, World Bank, the Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1977

the plethora of toned-down viability norms being applied to projects with different shades of backwardness.

In conclusion, it must be said that rural electrification projects are about the best for being appraised in terms of socio-economic criteria furnished by the discipline of social cost-benefit analysis. The point to consider is "that the expected returns may be lower than the optimistic returns, but an optimistic view of the project should be taken: the social consequences of neglect in the rural areas far outweigh the risks of limited success... Such matters are sufficiently important to urge tolerance when the quantified economic returns are somewhat lower than the opportunity cost of capital".⁶ More or less the same view was expressed by the Power Economy Committee appointed by the Government of India about 10 years earlier. □

⁶Turvey and Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 176.



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